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FIG. 1. Assisi, S. Francesco: Giotto, St. Francis Giving Away His Cloak

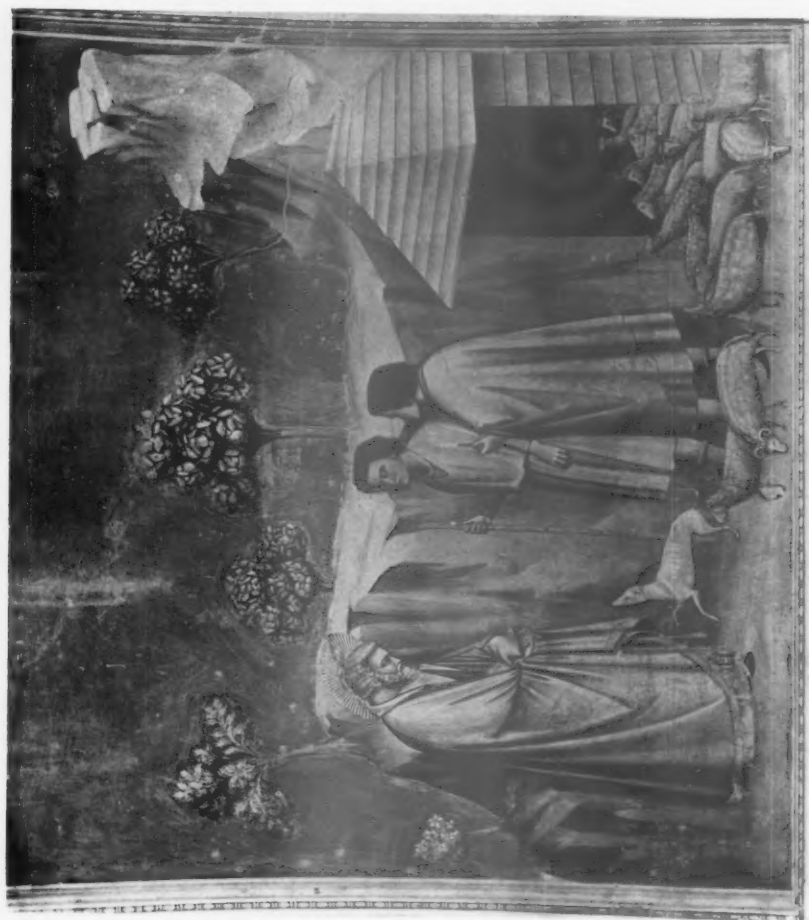


FIG. 2. Padua, Arena Chapel: Giotto, Joachim and the Shepherds

GIOTTO'S ST. FRANCIS SERIES AT ASSISI HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED

BY FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

MY purpose in writing this article is to show that Giotto's authorship of the St. Francis Series at Assisi is so solidly proved by historical evidence that a historian entirely unversed in art would have to admit it as a fact.

Incidentally I shall show that the style critics from Rumohr to Offner have denied Giotto's authorship only by ignoring the historical evidence or seeking to explain it away. In short they have fallen into the methodological error of putting last things first. For in any historical account of what happened in the past the utilization of all relevant documentary and traditional evidence rightly has preference over mere hypothesis and intuition of stylistic difference. Such hypotheses and intuitions must always conform to the findings of history. In short, the style critic is by no stretch of charity to be regarded as a historian of art, his conclusions are merely tentative, often specious, and at best convenient classifications which lack historical validity. Style criticism is our sole resource where historical evidence is lacking, and a most fallible resource. With a singular lack of historical probity many scholars have treated the problems of the St. Francis Series as if there were not weighty historical evidence for Giotto's authorship.

I mean to show that the purely historical evidence for Giotto's authorship is exceptionally abundant. This evidence has either been superficially analyzed and interpreted by most art historians, or has been ignored or perverted by style critics. In a broad sense this article is complementary to my friend Bernard Berenson's *Three Essays in Method*. He pleads for sound archaeological methods of research before anything like style criticism is undertaken. I plead for a sound historical approach (which would include the factual part of archaeology) to our problems.

Since this article is in part a diagnosis of a malady very prevalent among self-styled art historians, who are not historians at all, but a very interesting sort of wishful thinkers, it may be best to begin quite concretely by studying the malady at its human fountainhead, Baron Rumohr.

Baron Rumohr was a scholarly East Prussian nobleman of most versatile gifts. When he made his Italian tour, in his thirties, he already had a certain literary standing as a contributor on various subjects to magazines and as author of an esteemed book on cookery. Personally he represented that unstable blend of genius, insight, dogmatism, and charlatanry which always has been made more plentifully in Germany than elsewhere. He published his notes on Italian art in three little volumes called *Italienische Forschungen*.¹ It is a work in its way epoch-making, the expression of an ingenious, versatile, and often too self-confident spirit. It is a work so interesting and often suggestive that I honestly regret I must represent it at its worst in the chapter on Giotto.²

Baron Rumohr passed over the essential monument for the study of Giotto, the frescoes of the Arena Chapel, with the brief remark that they were completely repainted, ruined, and negligible. "In their present state," he wrote, "they give no basis for judging their merits or demerits." Of course they were merely dirty between cleanings. At Sta. Croce all the frescoes of Giotto were still under whitewash. So when Baron Rumohr faced the problem of the St. Francis Series at Assisi, he was in the undesirable position of never having seen, as point of departure, a single fresco which he believed revealed Giotto's genius. Whatever conception he had of Giotto's style must have been gained from a few

1. Berlin, 1827-1831.

2. *Italienische Forschungen*, II, pp. 39 ff.

panels, concerning which he is mostly non-committal. For an incipient style critic the situation was singularly favorable; there was nothing to cramp the style or inhibit intuitions. So Baron Rumohr proceeded to pontificate.³ The St. Francis Series was by provincial Umbrian painters of the end of the Trecento. Near the portal he thought he recognized the hand of Spinello Aretino. Rumohr is unspecific, but I guess he means *The Cradle Rite*. In the same general locality he saw works by Parri Spinelli, whose activity falls in the first half of the fifteenth century. He simply asserted these views, giving no reason whatever. In this he was widely, but not invariably, followed by many students who could not accept the St. Francis Series as by Giotto. Oddly the irresponsible *ipse dixit* of Rumohr so shook faith in the sound immemorial tradition that, generation by generation, dozens of critics for over a century have found that the St. Francis Series lay so heavily on their queasy style-critical stomachs that they regurgitated it into anonymity and into any late period that made them feel better about it.

To be sure, a Rintelen and an Offner have given us abundant reasons — mostly, as we shall see, irrelevant — for denying the St. Francis Series to Giotto. Here beyond cavil is moral gain over Rumohr's sheer dogmatism. Whether there be also any intellectual and practical gain in such proliferation of bad reasons, or whether it only makes unnecessary trouble for historically minded scholars, the reader must judge for himself.

Our earliest substantial information concerning Giotto is a brief notice in the *Compilatio Chronologica* of Riccobaldo Ferrarese. It runs as follows: "Gottus pictor eximius florentinus agnoscitur. Qualis in arte fuerit, testantur opera facta per eum in ecclesiis Minorum Assisi, Arimini, Padue ac per ea, que pinxit palatio communis Padue et in arena Padue." ("Giotto remarkable Florentine painter. One knows what he was in art. His works made in Assisi, Rimini, and Padua bear witness, and [it is known] by those which he painted in the palace of the commune, at Padua and in the Church of the Arena at Padua.")⁴ We cannot date this notice exactly; it is obviously important for our study to date it as closely as possible.

We have a start on our problem in Riccobaldo's preface. He writes that driven from his pleasant land [Ferrara] to Ravenna, he there cultivated the canons "Ecclesiae Majoris" [S. Pietro, a Franciscan foundation], used their books and especially a chronicle by St. Jerome drawn from Eusebius. This gave him the idea of the usefulness of a brief chronology. He continued [the older text] from Honorius to the time of the Emperor Henry, who besieged and took Brescia. "Quod fuit millesimo trecentesimo XII."

We may safely assume then that all the material in the *Compilatio* was in mind by 1312. Much of it was probably being written earlier. Riccobaldo extended the Compilation a little beyond the limit he set in his preface. The last historical notice is of Henry VII at San Casciano, January, 1313 (new style 1314), and there is also a notice of a comet which appeared a year later February 9, 1314 (new style 1315). But such addenda left the earlier part of the chronicle intact. There are no variants in the manuscripts and early printed editions to warrant any theory of revision or interpolation after 1312.

At latest, then, the Giotto notice was written about 1312, probably from information obtained somewhat earlier. B. Schmeidler, in his excellent study of Riccobaldo,⁵ makes the convincing suggestion that the notice, chiefly concerning Giotto's work for the Franciscans, rested on information drawn from Riccobaldo's friends, the Ravenna Franciscans. Again this gives us no date, but it does strongly suggest a date some years earlier than 1312, which Riccobaldo planned to be the terminus of his chronicle. We must also allow time to write the *Compilatio*, for the preface is plainly a prospectus and not an afterthought.

3. *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 68 ff.

4. Florence, Laurentian Library, a Ms. of the fourteenth century. See B. Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi*, Berlin, 1915-26, II, p. 155. In the standard edition of the *Compilatio* in Muratori, *Rerum*

Italicarum scriptores, Milan, 1723, IX, col. 193 ff., there is only one entirely insignificant variant (col. 255).

5. *Italienische Geschichtschreiber des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 58.

The Giotto notice follows that of the razing of Pistoia by the Florentine Guelfs, April, 1306-7, and a paragraph on Guelf and Ghibelline feuds in northern Italy in 1308-10. Then follows out of order the burning of the Lateran in 1309, and the death of Azzo of Este in 1308. These juxtapositions led Moschetti to date the notice in 1307.⁶

But the notice itself suggests a slightly later date. It implies work by Giotto in S. Antonio and mentions work in the Palazzo Communale. The Basilica of S. Antonio was dedicated in 1306, the Palazzo Communale was finished in 1307 or 1308. But Giotto was busy with the decoration of the Arena Chapel till its dedication March 6, 1306 (N.S.). He was probably working in the Chapter House of S. Antonio in 1306 or 1307 and he can hardly have done anything in the probably unfinished Palazzo Communale before the early months of 1308. So Riccobaldo's notice at earliest is of 1308, and may be a little later. It seems probable that it found its place immediately after the storming of Pistoia by the Florentines in April, 1307, simply by association of ideas, Giotto being a Florentine, and the past tenses, absurdly cited by superficial critics as evidence of interpolation after Giotto's death, mean only that after a long sojourn of eight or nine years Giotto had left northern Italy for good. Thus Riccobaldo's notice may be regarded both as a eulogy and a valedictory.

Now we have notices of Giotto in Florence in 1311 and 1312, and a notice of December 8, 1313, mentioning household goods in Rome, which implies long stays there. While exact dates are out of the question, the high probability is that Giotto, having finished his work at Padua by 1308 or 1309, settled at Florence for a matter of twenty years — completing his four chapels in Sta. Croce within this period, and was occasionally occupied at Rome.

To sum up a tedious but necessary discussion, Riccobaldo's notice cannot have been written later than 1310, and may have been written a year or so earlier. So our problem is what works had Giotto made at Assisi which were conspicuous enough to be of common knowledge in northern Italy by 1310? The answer is plainly the stories of St. Francis in the Upper Church.

To reach this conclusion one has only to study Riccobaldo's notice carefully and to date approximately the Giottesque works at Assisi. In the first place it is a Franciscan notice and as such singularly accurate and complete. It is chiefly concerned only with considerable fresco series, not with single paintings. It oddly omits the mosaic of the Navicella, which despite over-ingenious cavil at the traditional date, we must place in the year of the Papal Jubilee, 1300. Though a remarkable work, it was of small interest to Riccobaldo's Franciscan informants at Ravenna; they may simply have overlooked it; they may not have known of it. What they did know was the chronological order of Giotto's great series — Assisi, Rimini, Padua, and it is odd that no art historian before the present writer has noted this interesting fact or its significance. Naturally the notice is silent concerning work of Giotto at Florence. He had as yet done nothing notable there. Incidentally, those who regard the notice as an interpolation after Giotto's death — a view for which there is not a whit of evidence — have failed to consider that any *post mortem* Franciscan notice of Giotto's work would surely have included his masterpieces of Sta. Croce.

To repeat, what Giottesque works in the Basilica except the St. Francis Series could Riccobaldo's Franciscan friends at Ravenna have thought worthy of notice? Certainly not the Old and New Testament stories in the upper registers of the nave of the Upper Church. Recent criticism, with which I largely agree, reviving the views of Zimmermann and Thode, has ascribed a number of these frescoes to Giotto. They are merged and lost in older work. The sixteenth-century tradition of the Basilica reasonably ascribed all these early works to Cimabue. In my book, *The Isaac Master* (Princeton, 1932), I believe I have shown that this is the general truth of the matter, Cimabue being responsible as capomastro,

6. "Questioni cronologiche Giottesche," *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di Scienze di Padova*, N.S.,

XXXVII, 1921, pp. 196 ff.; XL, 1924, p. 125.

with the exception of the St. Francis Series, for the decoration of the Upper Church, probably between *ca.* 1292 and *ca.* 1296, employing in the higher registers of the nave at least two virtually independent associates, one a master of the Roman School akin to Rusuti, the other, probably Gaddo Gaddi, for whom Giotto worked as an assistant. What is important here is not the correctness of my theory, but the fact that a few frescoes made by Giotto in a subordinate capacity and in a style not characteristic of his mature work could hardly have attracted the attention and admiration of Riccobaldo's Franciscan informants at Ravenna one hundred miles, four or five days' hard journey, from Assisi.

Of the numerous Giottesque frescoes in the Lower Church I am sure no competent critic would date anything but the St. Nicholas Chapel as early as 1310 — that is, early enough to be mentioned by Riccobaldo. At the outset it should be said that the decoration of the St. Nicholas Chapel is not conspicuous, and that only very recent and generally discredited criticism has ascribed the St. Nicholas Chapel to Giotto; that the sixteenth-century tradition of the Basilica ascribed the Chapel to Giotto's elusive pupil, Giotto; finally that there is no good reason for thinking that the St. Nicholas Chapel was painted as early as 1310. It is out of the question that in Giotto's lifetime there should be confusion between Giotto's work and that of a pupil and imitator. Franciscans at Assisi surely knew the facts and their fellow Franciscans elsewhere would have had no reasons to pervert the facts in transmission.

As to the date of the St. Nicholas Chapel, the only evidence we have is that it was founded by either or both of two brothers, Napoleone and Giovanni Orsini. Their portraits appear in the Chapel kneeling before Christ; Napoleone, in the Cardinal's robes which he assumed in 1292, is presented to Christ by St. Francis; Giovanni, garbed as a deacon, at the right, is presented to Christ by St. Anthony. From the very doubtful evidence of his judgment of the ages of the brothers, Beda Kleinschmidt dates the foundation of the Chapel about 1306, with Cardinal Napoleone as founder. Since the younger brother, Giovanni, was not promoted to the cardinalate until 1316, that for the learned Franciscan historian of the Basilica is a *terminus ad quem*, and since Giovanni seems to him very young, about eighteen, in the frescoed portrait, he assumes a date of about 1306 for the foundation of the Chapel. That Gian Gaetano and not Napoleone was the founder of the Chapel of St. Anthony is proved by the fact that St. Anthony, in the fresco, presents him to Christ, and even more emphatically by the fact that he was buried in the chapel and even left a prayer to be posted beside his tomb.⁷

Unluckily we have no record of Gian Gaetano Orsini's birth. What is certain is that he was vested Cardinal Deacon of St. Theodore's late in December, 1316. He was then a Papal Prothonotary. Since he never held the intermediate grade of bishop, was the younger brother of the senior Cardinal Napoleone Orsini, when the influence of the Orsini with the Holy See was immense, a Francophile supporter of the Francophile Pope at Avignon, John xxii, it is reasonable to suppose that he was promoted to the Cardinalate at an early age. To guess that he may have been, when promoted in 1316, no older than twenty-five, is to guess very conservatively. If so, he will have been born about 1290. Such a date is nicely confirmed by his quite youthful appearance in the frescoed portrait at Assisi, which, since he still appears in deacon's garb, was painted before December, 1316. His much older brother, Cardinal Napoleone, born about 1263, was prominent at the Council of Perugia in 1305. Giovanni, perhaps less than fifteen years old, was probably present, being already eligible for minor preferment, and it is at least probable that this place and time mark the beginning of his interest in Assisi and the Franciscan Basilica only a few miles away. But in the frescoed portrait he is certainly a grown man, somewhere near twenty. He was not of age, hence unable to make a substantial donation, until he was eighteen, probably in 1308 or a little later. So only on the theory that Riccobaldo's Ravenna informants thought the St. Nicholas

7. Fratini, *La Basilica di S. Francesco*, Prato, 1882, p. 95.

Chapel was by Giotto, a most unlikely error to grow up when Giotto himself was in his prime, and only on the hypothesis that the St. Nicholas Chapel was ever of an importance to be widespread Franciscan news — only by making such improbable postulates can we think that when Riccobaldo noted that Giotto painted at Assisi he and his informants had the St. Nicholas Chapel in mind. And if they didn't mean the St. Nicholas Chapel, the only thing they could have meant was its St. Francis Series, for no competent student would date any other Giottesque work at Assisi as early as 1310, our *terminus ad quem* for Riccobaldo's Giotto notice.

And on stylistic grounds there are sound reasons for dating the St. Nicholas Chapel somewhere about 1315–20. Brother Beda Kleinschmidt has noted that the effigy of St. Clare at Assisi is virtually identical with Giotto's St. Clare in the Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, drawing the unwarranted inference that the St. Clare at Assisi is by Giotto.⁸ The more reasonable explanation is that the Giottesque painter of the St. Nicholas Chapel used Giotto's working drawing for the St. Clare at Florence. But the Bardi Chapel, since it depicts St. Louis of Toulouse as a saint (he was canonized in 1316 or 1317), was painted no earlier than 1316. So if we assume the painter of the St. Nicholas Chapel had access to Giotto's working drawing in 1316 or even a little earlier, the St. Nicholas Chapel must have been in progress some five years too late to be included in Riccobaldo's list of Giotto's works.

It is highly probable that the St. Nicholas Chapel was started in 1316, as a thank offering for Gian Gaetano's imminent promotion. In the massive and monumental style of the figures, in the elaboration of the draperies, in the rather simple decorative borders, it is in every way closer to Giotto at Sta. Croce than it is to Giotto in the Arena Chapel. In short, while we are dealing with a fallible dialectic and an equally fallible intuition of style, there are so many probabilities that the St. Nicholas Chapel was at least five years later than the latest date possible for Riccobaldo's entry, that we may confidently exclude it from our problem.

Before leaving its patron, Gian Gaetano, we may note that he was a fighting Italian legate of Pope John xxii in Tuscany and northern Italy from 1320 on. Always strenuously under difficulties, as you may read in Giovanni Villani's most readable chronicle, he kept his early artistic interest, for in 1330 shortly before his death, he built the beautiful Campanile of the Badia, at Florence.⁹ Let us regretfully leave this very interesting character, Cardinal Gian Gaetano Orsini, and return to our muttons: the only work at Assisi extant before 1310 that could have been intended in Riccobaldo's notice was the St. Francis Series.

It should be unnecessary to note that Riccobaldo's informants cannot have had in mind the four last stories of St. Francis in the Lower Church. Topically and stylistically these are supplementary to the twenty-eight Franciscan stories in the Upper Church and later. Whoever knew of these also knew of all thirty-two.

Of course one may with Weigelt obscure such evidence with a smoke screen: "While Riccobaldo's notice may be applied to the St. Francis Series, still its documentary value is doubtful, because later interpolation of addenda is not excluded."¹⁰ This is not merely infuriating but completely discouraging to a student of history who has come up in the old-fashioned belief that a later interpolation in a document is *strengst ausgeschlossen* unless and until it is proved.

Here, for readers versed in historical evidence, I might justly end this paper, leaving a formidable burden of proof with the style critics, but there remains the duty of proving the singular persistence to Vasari's time of the tradition started by Riccobaldo, of presenting further secondary evidence for Giotto's authorship of the St. Francis Series.

Dante's famous lines in *Purgatorio*, xi. 94, are too general to have any bearing on our

8. *Die Basilika*, II, p. 177.

9. G. Villani, *Cronache*, Venice, 1559, Lib. x, cap. 178, p. 562.

10. *Giotto* (Klassiker der Kunst, xxix), Stuttgart, 1925, p. 232.

problem, yet it is interesting to note that Dante wrote: "Now Giotto holds the field," just about the time when Riccobaldo described Giotto as "pictor eximius," and that both wrote from a north Italian point of view. Both were thinking not of works Giotto had made in Florence, where he had then done little of note, but of works outside of Tuscany. Giotto was well toward fifty and famous throughout Italy before his native Florence gave him any substantial patronage. The chief reason for giving such patronage was probably Giotto's nearest conspicuous work, the St. Francis Series at Assisi on one of the two main routes between the Guelph Commune and Rome. Many Florentines saw the St. Francis Series on routine trips of business or piety, while relatively few Florentines saw Giotto's frescoes at Rimini and Padua.

Ghiberti, whose *Commentaries* were written about 1450, is our next witness to Giotto's authorship of the St. Francis Series, though beginning with Rumohr, a dozen scholars who should have known better have perverted his evidence. The simple and clear statement: "Dipinse nella chiesa d'Assisi nell'ordine de' frati minori quasi tutta la parte di sotto," has been plastered with an incredible accumulation of error. A dozen living scholars of eminence, whom I charitably leave nameless, have insisted that *quasi tutta la parte di sotto* is to be translated "nearly all the Lower Church." For two sound reasons this translation is impossible.

First, *la parte di sotto* for the lower story of a building is simply not Italian. I defy anyone who doubts what is evident to anyone who knows Italian idiom to produce a single instance of this usage. Imagine asking a Sacristan in the Upper Church at Assisi, "Where are the famous Franciscan allegories?" and receiving the answer, "Sono nella parte di sotto." He would say, "Nella chiesa di sotto," or, if on his manners, "Nella chiesa inferiore." Beda Kleinschmidt notes that in all documents of the Basilica, whether in Italian or in Latin, *chiesa inferiore* or *Ecclesia inferior* are invariably used, never such a location as *parte di sotto*.¹¹ Not to labor a matter so obvious to anyone who knows colloquial Italian, imagine asking an Italian friend whose apartment is on the ground floor of a two-story building where he lives and receiving the answer, "Nella parte di sotto." He would, of course, say, "Al pianterreno." When I study Italian as it is translated by some of my colleagues, I meet the disquieting situation that they know Italian very well when it serves their subjective hypotheses and very badly when it does not.

Now, simply as Italian idiom, Ghiberti's "la parte di sotto" means the lower part of something other than the Basilica. The *quasi* gives us the clue to the meaning. While there were in Ghiberti's time many Giottesque frescoes in the Lower Church which might have passed for Giotto's, there never was a time when any intelligent observer could have thought that "almost all" the Lower Church was painted by Giotto. At present only about a third of the decoration of the Lower Church is Giottesque — the right transept, the little chapels of St. Nicholas and St. Stanislaus, the Magdalen Chapel, and the Allegories; non-Giottesque — Sienese or Bolognese, are the left transept, Simone Martini's Chapel of St. Martin, the old legends of St. Francis on the side walls, the big Madonna by Cimabue in the right transept, a considerable series by Andrea di Bologna in the entrance bay. In short, less than half the decoration of the Lower Church would have looked Giottesque to as good an eye as Ghiberti's. It should be recalled that Ghiberti had worked at Siena, that his *Commentaries* are the earliest discriminating criticism of the great Sienese painters, and that he was perfectly capable of sorting out the Sienese from the Florentine frescoes in the Lower Church. If, as is possible, he had accepted as by Giotto all the Giottesque frescoes in the Lower Church he would have written about half — *quasi la metà*, or a large part — *gran parte*. When he writes "quasi tutta la parte di sotto," he is thinking of the lower part of the most conspicuous and public part of the Upper Church, namely the nave — that is, the St.

11. *Op. cit.*, II, p. 157.

Francis Series. And why *quasi tutta* and not *tutta*? Because Ghiberti, over four centuries before Cavalcaselle, saw that three or four of the frescoes of the St. Francis Series are in a different style from the rest. In short, he was aware of the over-tall figures, the tiny ineffective extremities, the spindling architecture of the frescoes often ascribed to the Master of St. Cecelia.

Vasari, who, writing his first edition of the famous *Vite* in 1550, about a century after Ghiberti's *Commentaries*, was in as good a position to understand Ghiberti's Italian as I am the English of the first volume of Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (1843), understood that Ghiberti's "quasi tutta la parte di sotto" meant the St. Francis Series. For, in his first life of Giotto, which is virtually a paraphrase and amplification of Ghiberti's, he wrote "nella chiesa d'Ascesi de frati Minori, tutta la chiesa dalla banda di sotto." This "la banda di sotto" makes sense only when applied to the nave of the Upper Church, the "lower order" of which is frescoed with the St. Francis Series.¹² When revising and enlarging the text for the second edition (1568), Vasari noted that the above passage was clumsy and imprecise; he made its meaning perfectly clear as follows: "dipinse a fresco, sotto il corridore che attraversa le finestre, dai due lati della Chiesa, trentadue storie della vita e fatti di San Francesco, cioè sedici per facciata."¹³ Here Vasari, by a pardonable slip of memory, located the so-called four additional legends of St. Francis, which are actually in the Lower Church, in the Upper. In the time when free association of ideas is encouraged, such a slip should not be too harshly reprehended.

The upshot of this study of Ghiberti's much misunderstood words is that on the St. Francis Series Ghiberti was a better connoisseur than either Vasari or Cavalcaselle. Vasari missed the significance of Ghiberti's *quasi tutta* — that is, saw no difference of style in the series. Cavalcaselle perceived the difference of style, but by an interpretation amazing in a critic of his calibre, ascribed to Giotto the handful of rather feeble and prettified frescoes which Ghiberti had implicitly excluded. For the other frescoes Cavalcaselle saw correctly that they continued the style of the older frescoes above the St. Francis Series, but failed to draw the rather obvious conclusion from the fact — namely, that Giotto was either trained by or intelligently imitated the great Master whom Zimmerman and Thode christened the Isaac Master, and whom I, following Cavalcaselle, have tried to rechristen Gaddo Gaddi.

I have had to cite Vasari to the witness stand out of his chronological order. There are two intermediate witnesses who must be heard briefly. The compiler of the Book of Antonio Billi used for the earlier notices material extant in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. He writes in his short notice on Giotto: "Comincio ad acquistare fama per la pittura grande in Santo Francesco d'Ascesi, cominciata da Cimabue."¹⁴ This alludes to the St. Francis Series, for only the Upper Church in fact and in tradition was begun by Cimabue, and the only *grande pittura* in the Upper Church that in Vasari's time could conceivably be ascribed to Giotto is again the St. Francis Series. The compiler also regarded the St. Francis Series as early works of Giotto by which he began to acquire fame, thus confirming Riccobaldo's accuracy in placing Assisi at the head of his list of cities in which Giotto worked.

The compiler of the confused mass of anonymous notes published by Frey under the title *Il codice Magliabecchiano* (p. 33) as regards Assisi merely blends fragments of Billi's notices with a scrap from Ghiberti's *Commentaries*. The only interest of the notice is that about 1550, and independently of Vasari, the Anonymous gathered the tradition which began with Riccobaldo some two hundred and fifty years earlier, and believed it.

Vasari, in his second edition, brought much confusion into the life of Giotto, but he did us the good turn of dating the St. Francis Series. He writes: "[Giotto] si con-

12. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti*, 1st ed., Florence, 1550, p. 141.

13. Vasari, *Vite*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878-1906, I, p. 377.

14. *Il libro di Antonio Billi*, ed. C. Frey, Berlin, 1892, p. 6.

duisse in Ascesi . . . essendovi chiamato da Fra Giovanni di Muro della Marca, allora generale de'Frati di San Francesco; dove nella chiesa di sopra dipinse a fresco . . . trentadue storie della vita e fatti di San Francesco." At last we are on firm ground as regards the chronology of the St. Francis Series. Giovanni di Muro was elected General at a conclave held at Anagni, June 29, 1296. We read in Waddingus, *Annales Minorum*, under 1296, "Hoc anno in ipsiis feriis SS. Petri et Pauli, electus est Frater Joannes de Muro."¹⁵ His tenure was brief, less than eight years, for in 1304 he was promoted to be Cardinal Bishop of Porto and transferred to other service.¹⁶

Later I shall give the circumstantial evidence for the painting of the St. Francis Series by Giotto with much assistance in the last months of 1296 and through 1297. Here I need only remark that Giotto probably did not "betake himself" (*si condusse*) to Assisi but was already employed there as chief assistant of the Isaac Master, working in the upper registers of the nave.¹⁷ The St. Francis Series, though Giotto was already thirty years old, was probably his first independent work, by which according to the local tradition he acquired fame. The commission can hardly have been given by a brand new general elected at distant Anagni much before August, 1296. If the subjects were chosen and the working drawings ready in a couple of months, which must have been busy with consultations, a couple of months may have been available for painting on the wall before winter and cold weather; as Assisi was a hill town, it was impossible to lay plaster, hence to paint frescoes, until March or early April of 1297. In the remaining eight or nine working months of that year, it is probable that most of the twenty-eight frescoes of the St. Francis Series were executed. By early spring of 1298 it is as good as certain that Giotto was called to Rome to execute the mosaic of the Navicella for the forecourt of Old St. Peter's. Probably at this time there were seven or eight frescoes left to be painted, and these seem to have been all superintended and in part designed and executed by Giotto's substitute boss, the so-called Cecelia Master, or under his influence by his assistants. The general truth of the matter is that the St. Francis Series, as I shall later show, was a hurry-up job, interrupted by Giotto's departure for Rome, and intended to edify the influx of pilgrims bound for or from the Papal Jubilee of 1300 at Rome.

I have shown that for two centuries and a half there was a respectable and consistent tradition, passing from Riccobaldo, through Ghiberti, Billi, the Anonimo Magliabecchiano to Vasari, that Giotto painted the St. Francis Series — a tradition substantiated by contemporary documents and by what we know about the general situation at Assisi and about Giotto's activity at the end of the Duecento. Such a recapitulation may have its methodological value as illustrating what I mean by a rational critique of traditional evidence. Parenthetically I may observe that a large part of any serious historian's task is a searching critique of traditional evidence. To reject such evidence merely because it is traditional is wholly uncritical and unscholarly. Every tradition should be considered on its merits. In the present case, Ghiberti, whose brief life of Giotto is singularly free from error, was in a way to know the facts about the St. Francis Series; the older notebooks used by Billi had no reason to invent the statement that Giotto's work at Assisi in the succession of Cimabue, which can only mean the St. Francis Series, was early and the beginning of his fame. The learned compiler of the notes of the Anonimo Magliabecchiano had no reason to transmit Billi's statement unless it seemed reasonable to him. Finally, Vasari merely gives us in paraphrase the first correct interpretation of Ghiberti's only apparently ambiguous words, and adds only that Giovanni di Muro commissioned the St. Francis Series — a statement Vasari himself could not have possibly invented and which the Sacred Convent had no motive whatever to promulgate falsely.

15. Rome, 1734, v, p. 348.

16. Waddingus, *loc. cit.*

17. See my *Isaac Master*, *passim*.

The generalate of Fra Giovanni di Muro, 1296-1304, gives us an approximate date for the St. Francis Series. Happily there is sound circumstantial evidence for dating it more narrowly, between 1296 and 1299.

In 1288, May 13, the Franciscan Pope, Nicholas IV, issued a bull in the interest of the Sacred Convent which authorized it to "repair, consolidate, enlarge, and adorn the church according to their judgment." He also forbade all other religious orders the founding of "churches, oratories, convents, or monasteries within the city or suburbs of Assisi or within two hundred rods [about a kilometer] from the walls."

This latter privilege gave to the Basilica, S. Rufino, Sta. Chiara, and the Portiuncula virtually a complete monopoly in collecting money from the numerous pilgrims who passed through Assisi to or from Rome.

It should be clear that the reason for enlarging and decorating the church soon turned out to be that of making the church more attractive for pilgrims. More and more deeply impressed pilgrims meant larger contributions for the Franciscans.

The improvement immediately in mind was probably the extension of both churches by an additional bay. The naves with only three bays were not too well proportioned, and the extension toward the portal added dignity and offered more space for pilgrims. At the time of the bull we may assume that the choir and transepts of the Lower Church were frescoed. The survival of Cimabue's Madonna with two Saints in the right transept and of other fragments in the cross vault and on the walls makes this assumption safe. On the side walls of the nave were the old Franciscan stories, painted about 1270 by the so-called Master of St. Francis. These were already outmoded and probably sadly blackened, as the remnants of them still are, by the deterioration of the white pigment (white lead?) with which the colors were mixed. In the meantime the Franciscans had at last an authoritative life of their patron from the hand of St. Bonaventura. Thus in 1288 there was every reason for planning a new series of frescoes giving the deeds of the Saint in fuller and more attractive form. This series would naturally be the chief decorative feature in the Upper Church, which probably at this time had little adornment beyond its fine stained-glass windows.

The prior situation in the Upper Church in 1288 is not clear. It seems probable that lack of funds had postponed its proper decoration. Merely as a personal opinion I believe the apse, which surely would have been decorated at the earliest opportunity, may already have had its four modest stories of the Death and Glorification of the Virgin by Cimabue in 1288 and that his four Evangelists in the cells of the cross vaults may be as early. All the rest of the frescoes in the Upper Church seem to me to be painted well after 1290, when sufficient funds had been raised by authority of the bull of 1288; as a guess the frescoes may have been started in 1293 or 1294. The most immediate and urgent charge against the new funds, a very heavy charge, would have been for the building of the new bay.

Cimabue, who according to local and reasonably accurate tradition painted all the older frescoes in the nave, was undoubtedly in charge of the mural job. He and his assistants went to work on the transepts. The four bays of the nave he assigned to two deputy bosses. Cavalcaselle, with whom I agree, identified them as Rusuti and Gaddo Gaddi, according to tradition a close friend of Cimabue. The chief assistant of Gaddo Gaddi, or more cautiously the Isaac Master, was, if a consensus of our best critics is right, Giotto. Although nearly thirty, he was still in the modest position of a paid assistant and head man of the *bottega*. It is a reasonable supposition that the two upper registers of the four bays of the nave and the elaborate decoration of the four vaults occupied a good two years, say from 1294 to 1296. At that point there is also reason to suppose that our somewhat hypothetical Rusuti and Gaddo Gaddi were called to Rome to undertake the great task of making the mosaics for the façade of Sta. Maria Maggiore. In my book, *The Isaac Master*, I have discussed these probabilities more fully. Here I am less concerned with the correctness of my pet

hypothesis, than with the fact that about 1296 the lower and most conspicuous row of the side walls of the nave, devoted already to the Life of St. Francis, were still in bare plaster, with the first Papal Jubilee and the influx of hordes of money-giving pilgrims imminent.

It is as good as certain that all this work on the Upper Church had to be done in a hurry. In 1294 Boniface VIII was elected Pope. While he did not proclaim the Jubilee till February 22, 1290 (old style), it is probable that he had the matter in mind from his accession, and that the higher clergy and religious knew of the plan.

At Assisi the painting of a new St. Francis series was of extreme urgency in 1296. The old frescoes in the Lower Church had become hopelessly old fashioned; the plan of piercing them to provide openings for new side chapels was perhaps already in mind. The presence of a new and attractive series of the deeds of St. Francis meant not merely an extension and intensification of the cult of the Saint, it meant also substantial and much needed contributions from hundreds of thousands of pilgrims. In short, one cannot conceive of any Franciscan Church located on the great pilgrim routes of Italy failing to provide against the Jubilee a pictorial record of the glorious life of its patron, unless it was too poor to do so, or already had an acceptable set of stories of the *Poverello di Dio*. Certainly the central church of the order would not have omitted such an homage to St. Francis and such a provision for its own welfare, unless it were in more than Franciscan poverty. And the Basilica at Assisi, thanks to the Papal Bull of 1288, was in funds. Of course such evidence is circumstantial, but to flout it is to fly in the face of all historical probabilities.

I close the purely historical part of this article with a brief consideration of the extraordinary fact that Giotto and his *bottega* repeated no less than five of the St. Francis scenes — a situation easily and sensibly explained on the supposition that Giotto's working drawings were thriftily used for such copies, and one that admits of no other reasonable explanation. The great panel of the *Stigmatization* in the Louvre, which critics unanimously ascribe either to Giotto or to his *bottega*, in the main panel follows, with simplifications due to the narrower space, the fresco of the *Stigmatization* of Assisi. The three predella panels repeat *The Vision of the Lateran*, *The Granting of the Rule*, and *The Sermon to the Birds*. The first two predella compositions show interesting betterments which are most unlikely to have been made by an assistant, but such as any good artist is likely to make when he is re-considering his own designs. The picture still bears the signature *OPUS JOCTI FLORENTINI*, which Vasari first reported, in a lettering proper to the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and there is no reason to doubt that the panel has always borne this signature. Rintelen, as echoed approvingly by Weigelt,¹⁸ explains it as a school-piece by Giotto's *bottega* on a commission to use four of the doubtless famous Assisi compositions. Rintelen dates the panel about 1325, thus handily making it impossible that it could be by Giotto himself. Here the ingenious Swiss scholar was faithful to Rumohr's precedent of giving a picture any date that suits your hypothesis, without bothering to prove the date.

Into the problem of the date I cannot go at length. But anyone with even a superficial knowledge of Italian painting of the Trecento will set it, if only because of the form of the panel, very near 1300, one way or the other. I often wonder if Rintelen and his imitators ever visualize the conditions under which pictures are actually made, or have ever seen a living artist at work. They treat pictures as the biologist treats specimens under the microscope, as raw material for opinions, articles, and books. Such a teleology, though it is very much alive today, hardly deserves serious discussion. As for the Rintelen-Weigelt view on the *Stigmatization*, I simply ask the reader if he can imagine the *bottega* of Giotto, in 1325, being able even under orders to paint in a style a score of years earlier, and not betray the anachronism; and I further ask the reader if he can imagine Giotto permitting his assistant to repeat the defects of the Assisi *Stigmatization*, whether it be his or another's, at a moment

18. *Op. cit.*, p. 238.

when he certainly had in mind, and in high probability had painted, his superb version of the theme in Sta. Croce.

I think the critics from Waagen down have taken too stepmotherly an attitude toward the Louvre *Stigmatization*. Recent cleaning has much improved its color. It never was intended to be shown in a gallery; in the gloom of a Gothic chapel (or, more likely, high on a rood screen) it must have been very effective. It is to be assumed that so big a panel, from a famous *bottega*, was mostly executed by assistants, but in this case by competent assistants under close supervision. As to date, the probability is that the picture was painted for the Church of St. Francesco at Pisa, shortly before 1300 and in preparation for the Jubilee. It can very well have been a by-product of the *bottega* while the St. Francis Series were going on. At such a time it would be easy to compile the panel from the working drawings for the St. Francis Series. While by no means certain, such a hypothesis does make sense and agrees with the evident date of the panel, which is more than can be said for the tortuous explanation of Rintelen.

More conclusive evidence for Giotto's authorship of the St. Francis Series at Assisi is his virtual repetition of the *St. Francis Renounces His Father* in the Bardi Chapel. He has merely regrouped and respaced his figures slightly and substituted an architectural feature which nicely centralizes the composition in a lunette. On the face of it, such a revision can only have been made on the working drawing for the version at Assisi, or on a faithful sketch from the Assisi fresco. The alternative explanation is to charge Giotto with egregious plagiarism of a work by a minor painter at Assisi. Of course any painter properly borrows a bit here and there as he needs it, but I defy the student of the history of art to cite a single other case where a great master has committed a plagiarism so extensive and so grossly patent. If Giotto did not use any of the other Assisi compositions at Sta. Croce, it is because these did not lend themselves to revision and improvement. His taste had grown, and the old designs, excepting that of the *Renouncing of the Father*, could not be brought into harmony with his new ideals of balance, symmetry, and realized shallow space.

ENVOI — A COMMON SENSE INTERPRETATION OF THE DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN ASSISI AND PADUA

Until the purely historical demonstration which I have attempted is disproved, the burden of proof lies so emphatically with those who deny Giotto's authorship of the St. Francis Series that their arguments may in the meantime be safely ignored. Yet the shoddy dialectic of Rintelen and his followers has been so widely accepted as fact (see Rintelen's egregious exaltation of his subjective hypothesis as so much fact in his article on Giotto in Thieme-Becker) that a summary refutation may be useful.

Since Dr. Offner, in the *Burlington Magazine* for June and September, 1939, has made the clearest and briefest statement of Rintelen's position, with a few additions, my point of departure will be this special pleading of the most distinguished *compagno di Rintelen*.

Briefly, many of the differences noted by Offner between Assisi and Padua are not, as he alleges, stylistic differences but compositional and decorative differences generally dictated by:

- 1) the nature of the two interiors;
- 2) the size of the picture panels — about 11 x 10 ft. at Assisi, about 7 x 8 ft. at Padua (Figs. 1 and 2);
- 3) the widely different character of the subject matter — at Assisi, virtually contemporary subjects in surroundings familiar to the public; and with little iconographical precedent; at Padua, far-off legendary subjects with abundant iconographic precedent of an idealizing and Hellenizing sort.

The correct interpretation of the on the whole superficial and inevitable differences un-

der Nos. 2 and 3 has been so fully made by Brother Beda Kleinschmidt that, to readers who really read the literature of their subject, it will seem a simple waste of time to repeat it.¹⁹ But such readers become beautifully less, while I fear the style critics read with any attention only their own works and those of their fellow style critics.

For me Offner's long roster of differences²⁰ offers only one that is really stylistic and conceivably indicative of difference of authorship: namely, the radically different construction of the round forms, notably the heads — at Assisi, by a painful shading and hatching up into a rather wooden high relief; at Padua, by a system of accentuation and indication which yields a lively effect of a sort of middle relief. This notable advance in style requires explanation, and finds it in Giotto's work as a mosaicist in Rome and his re-study of construction in the light furnished by the best impressionistic mosaics of early Christian Rome. To this matter I shall return.

These hints should suffice for any reader who knows his Upper Church, his Arena Chapel, and the two fresco series under consideration. But many readers do not realize that mural painting is heavily conditioned by the layout the painter finds.

1) *The two interiors.* — At Assisi the painter found a big and perfectly symmetrical interior with its Gothic supports and vaults plainly visible. At Padua the painter found a rather small asymmetrical interior, virtually smooth plaster everywhere, with the north wall pierced by six windows. To make an approximately symmetrical checker-board for the stories, the window spaces had to be compensated by wide decorative bands extending across the barrel vault. These bands are a little less than a meter wide. To treat this compensating feature with a painted architecture, illusionistically, would have given an intolerably heavy effect. So Giotto used not precisely flat bands, as Dr. Offner writes, but a sort of trellis arch with lozenge casements through which saints and patriarchs look down. In short, he designed these bands as illusionistically as the conditions permitted, and when in the triumphal arch he had a symmetrical layout, he offered in the *Annunciation* and the spaces below it perhaps the most deceptive bit of illusionism that Trecento painting displays. When Dr. Offner argues from the unavoidable flat bands at Padua that Giotto, had he painted at Assisi, would have used flat bands there, his dialectic goes into a bad reverse English. If Giotto at Padua paints as illusionistically as the conditions permit, the sound inference is that up to the Arena, about 1305, he preferred illusionistic accessories, and therefore such illusionism is to be expected in all his pre-Paduan work. At Assisi this predilection was reinforced by the obvious desirability of harmonizing the painted architecture with the clustered columns which separated the groups of frescoes.

2) *The size of the picture panels.* — At Assisi the panels for the twenty-eight legends worked out large and tall, a little over 11 ft. high and 10 ft. wide (Fig. 1). If Giotto had divided these panels with the wide bands Dr. Offner suggests, each panel would have measured about 11 by 7 ft., an unmanageably tall form more proper for a Japanese Kake-mono-painter than for a fresco-painter of the late thirteenth century.

Now for a couple of centuries the standard figure for a narrative fresco was about 50 inches tall. Giotto had to fill his unhandy space at Assisi under these conditions, which meant that he must build up his group rather high above the base and far from the picture plane and several figures deep with the farther heads higher than the nearer. The Franciscan subjects called for many big groups, all of which had to be handled about this way. This resulted in building up the group to about half the height of the panel, an ugly ratio, and it left a space above about 5½ ft. high to be filled in some way or other. Here were available the tall crags and Gothic buildings which abound at Assisi.

Moreover, the setting of the group back from the picture plane, the extension of the

19. *Die Basilika*, II, p. 162 and *passim*.

20. "Giotto, non-Giotto," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXIV, 1939, pp. 259-68; LXXV, 1939, pp. 96-113.

group inward, and the realistic accessories in the upper part forced the painter to deal in something like deep space, a very unusual adventure at this time.

We have noted various natural expedients for making the best of a space too tall for the scale of the figures. Beda Kleinschmidt writes very sensibly: "the tall form at Assisi became a bother to the artist, the rock which his art passed not without damage."²¹ We shall see that this bother was converted into a positive merit. Its conquest enhanced the verisimilitude which was very desirable for a public which knew the sites and whose grandparents had seen St. Francis in the flesh.

In contrast with Assisi, at Padua (Fig. 2), once the pictorial checker-board had been established, there were no difficulties. The picture panel worked out in a nice ratio about 7 by 8 ft. (on the window wall, a square of about 7 ft.). The figure, at the standard scale of a little over 4 feet tall, was in the good proportion of about 3/5 of the height. So the figures were based low and near the picture plane. Groups tended to be only a figure deep, to be treated as ranks or processionally. This resulted in a general isocephaly. The little space above the heads was easily filled by gently curved lolls or by a sort of property architecture — possibly echoing the "habitations" of the mystery plays which were given before the Chapel; the general feeling is of shallow space, the plastic effect that of *mezzo-rilievo*. For all these compositional features there was long precedent in Byzantine and Italo-Byzantine painting, the iconography of which is closely observed at Padua, and nothing much has been contributed formally, except a reasonably contemporary sort of property architecture. It is a treatment exquisitely suitable to these remote legendary themes, a treatment favored by the physical conditions at Padua, and wholly impossible, had it been desired, under the physical conditions at Assisi.

3) *The antipodal subject matters.* — In the above I have tried to consider only conditions inherent in the two jobs. Let me now study the considerable differences imposed by antipodal subject matters.

At Assisi the painter was really illustrating a new and widely read book, Bonaventura's official life of the Saint, the chapter headings of which were inscribed under the relative frescoes. Bonaventura's book was quite circumstantial and in a manner realistic. The friars and the citizens of Assisi knew the sites, towns, and buildings connected with the acts of the Saint. The fathers of the oldest citizens had actually seen the Saint. With such a literary background and for such a public a maximum of verisimilitude was desirable. Besides there was little iconographic precedent, little previous stylization to guide the work. It is precisely this lack of stylization which has led generally sensible critics like Dr. Sirén to waver as to Giotto's authorship of the St. Francis Series. But stylization is largely the work of time, and time had worked on the legend of St. Francis only for about a generation, and at that fitfully. In short, to contrast the complete and urbane stylization at Padua with the absence of it at Assisi is simply to deal with the obvious and insignificant. Given the subject matters, there could be no stylistic harmony between Assisi and Padua. What always surprises me as I re-study these two series is not their differences but their abundant, if always episodic and sometimes occult, similarities.

So much for the general situation at Assisi. At Padua the task was to picture subjects of remote antiquity, subjects already admirably stylized, nay standardized, by a half-millennium of trial and error. Of course the mood will be that of legend — reverent, urbane, unspecific. The characters are robed in classical drapery, the pull of which and the drag of the folds are effectively used to express the larger forms. Little of this at Assisi, for the figures almost always are in contemporary costume, few boasting anything like drapery. Where it exists, as in the watchers beside the dreaming Pope, or in the despairing wife of the Knight of Celano, the drapery is very skilfully used to express the larger forms of limbs and torsos in a manner plainly anticipatory of the method used at Padua. In short,

21. *Loc. cit.*

just this detail should virtually prove common authorship for any critic who believes the Assisi frescoes are the earlier.²²

It should be needless to insist that the syncopated and symbolic properties at Padua are proper to the subject matter, indeed inevitable when illustrated guides to the Holy Land were not available, while the recognizable churches, bird's-eye views, and rocky crags were equally proper to the legends of St. Francis. Indeed, would any artist working in the Basilica of the order and at the Saint's birthplace have been permitted in the interest of esthetics and future style critics to stylize out of recognition the familiar setting of the Saint's activity?

I believe I have explained as due to the material conditions of the two jobs and the requirements of the respective subject matter all major differences which have led Rintelen, Offner, and others to deny the Assisi frescoes to Giotto. Later I shall examine that false dialectic which so often leads the style critic to fantastic conclusions. I have omitted a few minor and insignificant differences — knotty or smooth tree trunks, long or short angels, etc. — cited by Offner. This merely cumulative evidence is no better than the mass of more telling evidence upon which it is superimposed.

There remains the very important fact that the method of construction at Padua differs radically from that which we note at Assisi. At Assisi we find merely an improved, Hellenizing revision of the old Byzantine system of painfully shading up round forms into a semblance of high relief. It is a rather ugly method, freezing the modelling at the contour, thrusting a lot of masks a half head deep toward the spectator. At Padua the construction is effected not by shading but by accents which often are merely an extension of the contours like the broad brush contours of Hokusai, — which sometimes are effected by the strain of drapery over shoulders, thighs, etc., or by the convergence and tug of folds of drapery upon some main articulation. This latter method of constructing the larger forms is, as I have shown, already found at Assisi, where it is exceptional because classical drapery is rarely used; at Padua it is standard practice because virtually all the figures are robed in classical drapery. The only substantial stylistic difference, then, between Assisi and Padua lies in the construction of the heads. At Assisi we have a derivation of the established practice, at Padua we have a novel method of indication by what may be regarded as narrowed shadow or broadened contour — a method which is drawn from the best early Christian mosaics. The influence of the impressionistic mosaics on Giotto and the Isaac Master I have treated very fully in my book, *The Isaac Master*, to which, to avoid vain repetition, I refer the reader.

This radical difference of construction affords a very instructive problem in interpretation. Nothing is easier than to take the situation verbally, to insist against a formidable mass of historical evidence for Giotto's authorship of the St. Francis Series and the Arena frescoes, that such a radical difference of construction implies two hands and admits of no other reasonable explanation. A critic who dislikes the Assisi frescoes, or who has assumed a maternal attitude of championship and defense of Giotto's fame, will inevitably rise to the equation — difference of style means difference of authorship. Such an over-simplification is proper to one who doesn't realize that artists and patrons are people, and not mechanisms which produce problems to be solved by style critics. If you show to a critic of this temper the considerable differences in style and construction in the work of a Titian, Greco, Hals, Rembrandt, Velasquez, or for that matter of a Simone Martini (he doffs or dons the so-called International Style as he pleases), why then the style critic calls to his defense an entirely mythical witness called "The Mediaeval Artist." The Mediaeval Artist is an odd fish; he keeps the straight line in which his master started him, never hesitates, never re-

22. Supino's absurdly late dating for the St. Francis Series, because of their realistic and contemporary character, is due to his failure to perceive that such realism was required by the subject matter. His eye was too good, his awareness of the many analogies between Assisi and

Padua too keen, to permit him to deny the St. Francis Series to Giotto. Supino's whole chronology is hopelessly vitiated by his belief that the *Allegories* and the *Early Life of Christ* are by Giotto and the beginning of his development.

considers, never experiments at large; in short, the mediaeval artist is pretty well immune to all influence except that which catapulted him or his career, hence is a completely unintelligent person. Now, of course, a historian who has read about in mediaeval biography, or has considered mediaeval art sensitively, knows that there was no such animal. The mediaeval artist, albeit more conditioned by his beginnings, was otherwise much like the modern artist, variously stolid or enterprising, dumb or intelligent.

A humanistic critic would weigh the differences in style between Assisi and Padua as follows:

Giotto in 1298-1300 was working on a big mosaic at Rome. He was about thirty-three years old. Wouldn't he have studied the numerous mosaics in old Rome as well as the brilliant novelties of Torriti and the Cosmati? Being Giotto, wouldn't he have perceived the immense superiority of the early impressionistic mosaics, the simplicity and carrying power of their modelling? Wouldn't he have adopted the impressionistic method in his own mosaic of the Navicella? The surviving fragments seem to show that he did just that. Wouldn't he have seen that the construction, by spotting and accents which gave the early mosaics their quality, could be adapted for fresco painting? The answer to these theoretical questions is invariably, yes; and as methodology the procedure bears on the main problem, which is not that of the Assisi style but that of the Arena style. The Assisi style was more or less inevitable, given the layout, the subject matter, and the precedents in earlier painting. But the Arena style, being highly considerate and voluntary, and almost without stylistic precedent in mediaeval painting, is a problem of the first order and challenges intelligent and sympathetic interpretation. What had Giotto done before, at about forty, he painted the Arena frescoes? Something considerable, for about this time his contemporaries Riccobaldo and Dante write that he was famous. In short, if Assisi didn't exist as a point of departure for Giotto's progress toward Padua, we should have to invent an equivalent for the St. Francis Series.

I hope this paper, by implication, may seem not merely a study of a particular problem but also a contribution to methodology. I despair of converting the style critics who roll their own cocoons in a vacuum, but I may hope to persuade younger scholars that the history of art is merely a branch of history and bound by historical methods. In facing a problem in the history of art the first duty is to consider and organize all the documentary and historical evidence. Naturally, while laying this foundation we shall look at the monuments involved and shall begin to form opinions simply on the basis of style. But such opinions should be merely provisional. Ultimately they must conform to the factual framework. Intuitions based on style are merely accessory to historical research and have no weight against historical evidence to the contrary.

In periods where historical evidence is lacking, we must, of course, group and organize our material by style. But such results are at best only probable, should be regarded rather as mental conveniences than historic facts.

To form historical conclusions without considering the relevant historical evidence, to impugn or discredit the historical evidence in order to maintain your subjective hypothesis is simple charlatanism. You will end by dismissing all unhandy documentary evidence with the formula "an interpolation is not excluded." In short, it is easier for a rich man to go through a camel's eye, than for a pure style critic to maintain his intellectual integrity. The point is simply to begin with the historic evidence, and not postpone its consideration until you have hardened into subjective positions, and finally to use all the historic evidence, primary, secondary, and traditional, and use it thoroughly.

May I close on a more personal note? In the past I have now and then been berated as a hopelessly subjective, nay sentimental, critic. I hope this article shows I can be, when occasion requires, as dry as the next fellow.

ROMANESQUE CHURCHES IN FLORENCE

A STUDY IN THEIR CHRONOLOGY AND STYLISTIC DEVELOPMENT

BY WALTER HORN

THE following pages attempt to provide a clue for the dating of a group of Florentine Romanesque basilicas by an examination of their masonry technique. In establishing the chronology I hope to eliminate one of the main obstacles in the investigation of the Florentine Proto-Renaissance. With the main exponent of this movement, the Baptistery of Florence, I have dealt elsewhere.¹ The central monument of the present discussion is San Miniato al Monte. I have confined myself to an examination of the style and the chronological problems involved, but an analysis of the particular historical and cultural conditions which this style represents will follow at some later time.²

I — MASONRY TECHNIQUE AS AN AID TO DATING

I. THE STAGES OF CONSTRUCTION IN SAN MINIATO

It has already been demonstrated by Ulrich Middeldorf that the church of San Miniato is not a uniform and homogeneous structure.³ He was the first to observe that the eastern walls of the crypt belong to an earlier period than the walls of the choir above and the entire body of the nave.⁴ As he pointed out, there is a juncture of two types of masonry tak-

1. "Das Florentiner Baptisterium," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, v, 1938, pp. 100-151. In this article I have tried to prove that the Baptistery was completely renewed between 1059 and 1150. These dates are arrived at from the following considerations: The capitals and encrusted columns of the Baptistery are more developed than those of the little church of Santa Felicità, which was dedicated on November 7, 1059. The *terminus post quem* given by Santa Felicità allows us to connect an old, but questioned, tradition that there was a dedication of the Baptistery on November 6th of the same year, with the laying of the foundation stones of the new building. A *terminus ante quem* is given by the lantern of the Baptistery, which according to Giovanni Villani (*Croniche*, lib. 1, cap. LX, ed. Racheli, Milan, 1857-58[?], 1, p. 28) was constructed in 1150 — a contention which is confirmed by the style of the cornice decoration and the epigraphical character of a heretofore overlooked apotropaic inscription on the tip of the helmet. The fact that the old marble baptismal font, installed in Santa Reparata temporarily (owing to the reconstruction of the Baptistery, we may surmise), was put in place in 1128, suggests that the walls and at least the inner shell of the dome must have been finished at this time. If we assume an uninterrupted construction of the building, which is indicated by the continuous stylistic development of the decoration from the ground floor upwards, the period of construction could be broken down into the two main phases: 1059-ca. 1090 for the ground floor and second story; ca. 1090-1128 for the attic and dome.

That the building was totally reconstructed and not merely restored and embellished (as so many contend) is proved by an analysis of its constructive system.

2. Here, as in my study on the Baptistery, I am indebted to Walter Paatz for many valuable suggestions. I had the opportunity to study his manuscript on San Miniato when collaborating in his edition of *Die Kirchen von Florenz* (see Vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main, [1940], introduction). The volume dealing with San Miniato has not yet appeared, as far as I know. I am also very grateful to Miss Hope Wickersham who has edited the manuscript of this article, revising and clarifying the expression throughout.

3. The uniformity of the church has generally been taken for granted and thus not even mentioned. Beenken is the only one to state it explicitly ("Die Florentiner Inkrustationsarchitektur des XI. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LX, 1926/27, p. 249): "Die heute stehende Kirche ist, sieht man von den beobachteten Veränderungen an der Fassade und von späteren Wiederherstellungen ab, vom Erdboden bis zum Dachstuhl hinauf einheitlich, und der Baubefund gibt keine Anhalte dafür, dass etwa die Anlage des früheren 11. Jahrhunderts in einen späteren Neubau hineinverarbeitet sei. Ebenso ist von Resten eines älteren garnichts zu sehen."

4. Middeldorf's observation (unpublished) was first utilized by Walter Paatz, in his sound and radical revision of the dating of San Miniato; cf. "Die Hauptströmungen in der Florentiner Baukunst des Mittelalters," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in*



FIG. 1. San Miniato from the East

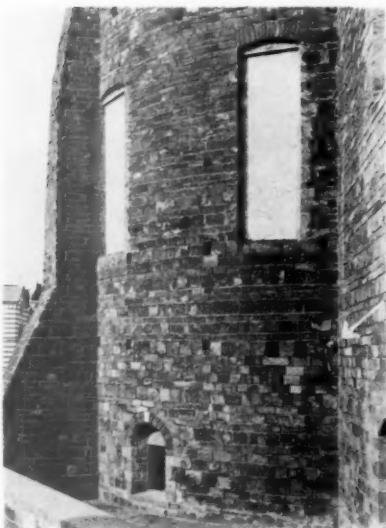


FIG. 2. San Miniato: Apse (Detail)



FIG. 3. San Miniato: East Wall of North Aisle (Detail)



FIG. 4. Badia of Florence: Campanile (Detail)



FIG. 5. San Miniato: Southern Clerestory, Showing Break in Masonry



FIG. 6. San Miniato: Northern Clerestory, Showing Break in Masonry

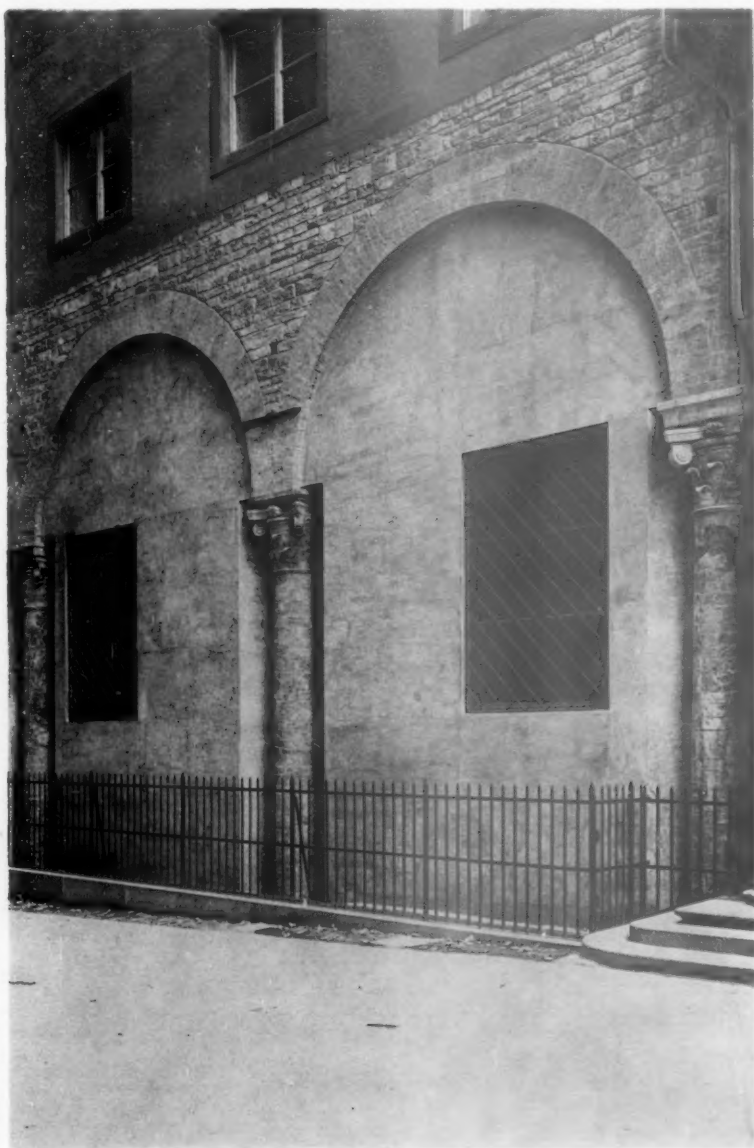


FIG. 7. San Pier' Scheraggio: Northern Nave Arcade



FIG. 8. San Miniato: Choir Arcade



FIG. 9. Baptistery: Corridor at Base of Dome

ing place on a line which runs across the entire east end of the church, midway between the windows of crypt and choir (Fig. 1). The blocks of stone above this line of juncture are predominantly oblong, smooth, and of a quite uniform cut. Thin courses alternate with thicker courses in a free rhythmical sequence. The stones of the crypt walls below are more irregular in cut and more variegated in shape. Many are square or nearly so, and their surface is rough (Figs. 2-3).

To this change in the technique of masonry corresponds a change in the choice of materials. In the crypt walls *pietra forte* of a yellowish or copper-brown cast is mixed with *alberese* (a white, marble-like limestone). These are occasionally interspersed with *macigno* (a greenish local sandstone) and with red bricks. In the sections above the juncture *pietra forte* is used exclusively. This masonry has a uniform light brown cast in contrast to the polychrome shimmer of the crypt walls.

Middeldorf's inference that these two different types of masonry correspond to two different phases of construction is confirmed by another observation of his; i.e., that the two heavy buttresses which reinforce the apse are bonded with the masonry of the upper section, but not with that below. When the crypt was built, no provision was made for buttresses. The addition of the buttresses presupposes a change of plan, which was introduced at the same time as the more advanced technique of masonry.

To these discoveries of Middeldorf's may be added a further observation: approximately where the eastern transverse arch meets the clerestory walls, midway between the third and fourth windows of the clerestory, there is a vertical break in the masonry which has hitherto been overlooked. This break indicates a second pause in the construction. The line of juncture is visible on both the north and the south sides of the church in the walls of the clerestory (Figs. 5-6).⁵ It slants from east to west as it runs down, indicating that the choir part had already been completed when the nave part of the clerestory was built eastward to join it.⁶ This is not sufficient in itself to prove that the two sections of the clerestory were built at different periods. Both ends could have been started at the same time from opposite points (the façade and the choir) and built toward each other simultaneously. There are several facts, however, which show that this was not the case, but that the nave section of the clerestory was built at a later date than the part above the choir.

a) The masonry west of the line of juncture differs from that to the east, as does the treatment of the windows and the arches framing them.

The courses of stone are thinner in the nave section, the individual blocks flatter and longer. The windows have slightly narrower openings than those of the choir, and their arches are built of thin bricks of a uniform size. The wider openings of the choir windows give them a lower, plumper appearance, even though they are actually the same height (Figs. 5-6). Here the window arches are made of wedge-shaped blocks of *pietra forte* of considerable size and varying thickness. The same type of window arch is used in the east end of the aisles (Fig. 1).

b) There is a change in the decoration of the interior of the church which also corresponds to the break in the masonry of the exterior.

Much of the choir is encrusted with a marble facing: the apse, the triumphal arch, the

Florenz, VI, 1940, pp. 51 ff., and *Kirchen von Florenz*, "San Miniato" (in preparation).

5. The opening between the third and fourth windows on the north side (Fig. 6) leads into a narrow corridor in the interior of the transverse arch, which gives access to the timber roof above the nave.

6. The evidence for the fact that the clerestory of the nave was begun in the west and built out toward the east lies in a small detail. In several places a double layer of thin stones is substituted for and continues a single course of thick stones. This change in the format of the stones

was evidently caused by a temporary shortage of thick blocks. Now where this happens in the wall to the east of the break, the substitute double layers always occur on the western side of a panel between two windows; to the west of the break, they occur on the eastern side of the panels. Thus we can see that the masons were working from the two ends of the church toward the center. In the nave part they were working from the west toward the east, while in the choir part they were working from east toward west. Each panel would be begun with blocks of

columns and arches of the arcading and the entablature above. The corresponding parts of the nave are painted, repeating *al fresco* the marble patterns of the choir (Fig. 20).⁷ Most of the capitals in the choir have been salvaged from ancient Roman buildings, while the majority of the capitals in the nave are Romanesque, made of brick like those of San Pier' Scheraggio (Fig. 7). This is a simple, cheap form of decoration. Apparently there was at this time a shortage of antique spoils, perhaps even of funds to pay for a contemporary equivalent of the richness of Roman materials and workmanship.

c) A stylistic development can be seen in the treatment of the pilaster capitals, which are Romanesque work. Those of the pilasters flanking the apse (Fig. 14) are clearly less developed than those deriving from them on the second story of the façade (which lies in line with the clerestory) (Fig. 15).⁸

Taken together these observations lead definitely to the conclusion that the clerestory of the nave and the arcade which supports it are somewhat later than the corresponding sections of the choir. Moreover, one has to attribute the aisle walls and the masonry of the lower story of the façade to the same period of construction as the choir. And this for two reasons: first, there is no break or rupture in the masonry of the aisle walls which would correspond to the one in the clerestory walls;⁹ and secondly, the technique of masonry is here less developed than in any of the upper parts of the church, even the upper part of the choir. However, it is the same type of masonry as we find in the window zone of the choir. Thick courses alternate with thin courses, but the courses do not yet run continuously across the entire width of the church. Only in those sections which lie on a higher level than the aisle walls do we note a continuous course system (Fig. 1).

The analysis of the masonry technique of San Miniato thus shows that the church was built in three successive stages (Fig. 27):

Stage I: comprising the east wall of the crypt.

Stage II: comprising the lower story of the façade, the aisle walls, the choir in its entire height to the line of junction which separates the clerestories of nave and choir.

Stage III: comprising the clerestory of the nave, the inner arcade of the nave, and the second story of the façade.

Herein lies the explanation of a feature which has startled many scholars and contributed no little to the difficulties in dating San Miniato — i.e., the discrepancy in the style of the marble decoration on the lower and upper sections of the façade (Fig. 22).

The decorative treatment of the lower story of the façade is closely related to that of the Florentine Baptistery (Fig. 23). It has the same simplicity, the same classical flavor. The encrusted patterns are clear and concise. The geometrical designs of the background are subordinated to and serve to emphasize the blind arcading. In general this also holds true for the decoration within the apse, although the play of lines is here somewhat richer (Fig. 20). But in the second story of the façade a different principle is at work. Elements such as the grill work at the sides and the design around the central window tend to stretch beyond the limits of their architectural frames (Fig. 22). In the two vertical panels the combination of a spoked wheel in relief with a flat border design of plaitwork, etc., gives a

the regulation size; then if the large blocks ran out, it would be finished entirely in thinner blocks.

7. The free standing columns of the nave are made of *pietra forte* like those of San Pier' Scheraggio. Their stucco coating dates from the restoration of 1858-1861. The clerestory, both in the choir and the nave, has a painted decoration, which was also extensively restored in the nineteenth century. The engaged columns on the interior of the façade are encrusted with marble, and there are further traces of a marble facing: on the easternmost

arches of the nave arcade and on the eastern transverse arch. This would suggest that an encrustation of all the structural members of the nave was originally planned, but was not carried out, presumably owing to lack of funds or of time.

8. Cf. analysis below, pp. 121-122.

9. One should not be misled by the evidences of restoration in the north wall, which was damaged by the crumbling of the old Romanesque campanile.

pictorial rather than structural effect. Finally, in the pediment the principle of structural integration is entirely given up in favor of a variegated and extravagant surface treatment.

These stylistic discrepancies have always been felt and have given rise to a general opinion that the lower and upper stories of the façade belong to different periods.¹⁰ This opinion is confirmed by the discovery that the clerestory of the nave (which lies in line with the second story of the façade) is later than the rest of the church. The fallacy in the conventional dating, which has been rather arbitrary and inconsistent,¹¹ originates in the assumption that wall and encrustation are not contemporary. As we saw, the development in the technique of masonry points to the same series of constructive stages as does the stylistic development in the encrusted decoration. There are no indications whatsoever that the marble facing was a later addition applied only after the walls were completed.¹²

2. SAN MINIATO AND THE DOCUMENTS

In attempts to establish the date of San Miniato the documents, when taken alone, have been rather misleading. The dating of the church was usually based on the following sources:

a) A document of 1018 in which Bishop Hildebrand states that the old church of San Miniato was "badly neglected and almost in ruins" ("nimia vetustate neglectam atque pene destructam"), that he had decided to renew (*renovare*) the ancient building, encouraged in this objective by Emperor Henry II, from whom he had obtained funds in 1014; and that he had constructed a crypt (*confessio*) to house the lost relics of San Miniato, miraculously rediscovered during the course of restoration.¹³

b) A document of 1028, in which Bishop Lambert¹⁴ says, that Hildebrand had done whatever he could "to increase the rising beauty of the poor monastery" ("pauperis loci surgentem speciem ampleavit"), but that owing to his death, he could not complete "that which was necessary" ("quae fuerant necessaria explere non valuit").¹⁵

c) A document of 1062 from the archives of Emperor Henry IV, in which the monas-

10. J. B. Supino, *Gli albori dell' arte fiorentina*, Florence, 1906, p. 69, dates the apse and the lower story of the façade in the eleventh century, the upper stories in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Luigi Dami, "La basilica di S. Miniato al Monte," *Bollettino d'arte*, IX, 1915, pp. 221, 229, dates the ground story of the façade "before 1093" (also the two pilasters framing the central panel of the upper story), the rest of the upper story and pediment in the second half of the twelfth century. K. M. Swoboda, *Das Florentiner Baptisterium*, Berlin, 1918, pp. 49 ff., dates the ground story of the façade "ca. 1170," the upper story and apse in the last quarter of the twelfth century, the pediment in the beginning of the thirteenth century. P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Torino, 1927, I, Part 2, p. 546: ground story, end of the eleventh century; upper story, "somewhat later"; pediment, beginning of thirteenth century. Mario Salmi, *Architettura romanica in Toscana*, Milan, [1926], p. 38: apse and lower story of the façade, beginning of the twelfth century; upper story, ca. 1200; pediment, beginning of the thirteenth century. Edgar W. Anthony, *Early Florentine Architecture and Decoration*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1927, pp. 24 ff.: ground story of the façade, end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century; upper story, first half of the twelfth century; pediment, beginning of the thirteenth century. Frey and Behne alone consider the façade a homogeneous structure. K. Frey, *Vasari*, Munich, 1911, I, p. 202: façade, beginning of the thirteenth century. Adolf Behne, *Inkrustationsstil in Toscana*, Berlin, 1912, p. 134: façade, "from 1170/1180 on."

11. With the exception of the pediment, unanimously dated at the beginning of the thirteenth century on ac-

count of its striking similarity to the floor mosaic, which carries an inscription of 1207. The dating of all the other parts has been based on stylistic comparisons with the encrustation of the Baptistry and Santi Apostoli, whose dates were equally uncertain.

12. Cf. my arguments in favor of a simultaneous execution of masonry and encrustation in the Florentine architecture of the eleventh century in "Das Florentiner Baptisterium," pp. 144 ff. In the case of the Baptistry the misinterpretation of this relation has led to the most extravagant and arbitrary datings.

13. The document of 1018 is preserved in a sixteenth-century copy, reprinted with errors in Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, Venice, 1717, III, p. 47, and in Giovanni Lami, *Sanctae ecclesiae Florentiae monumenta*, Florence, 1758, I, p. 42 (cf. Robert Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, Berlin, 1896, I, p. 34).

The pre-Romanesque and doubtless early Christian church of San Miniato is mentioned in the year 783 (cf. Davidsohn, *op. cit.*, I, p. 25); in 898 (Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, Berlin, 1896, I, p. 94, and Lami, *op. cit.*, I, p. 593); in 899 (Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, I, p. 73, note 1, and Lami, *op. cit.*, I, p. 564) and in 971 (Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, I, p. 111, note 2, and *Mon. Germ. Hist. Dipl.*, I, Hannover, 1879-1884, p. 546, no. 401).

14. Hildebrand is last mentioned in a document of April, 1024 (Lami, *op. cit.*, I, p. 43). Lambert is first mentioned in a document of June, 1025 (*ibid.*, II, 1419. Cf. Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, I, p. 148, note 1).

15. Lami, *op. cit.*, I, p. 45; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, I, p. 35.

tery (*monasterium*) is mentioned as "well built and worthily restored" ("decenter constructum utmodo cernitur honorabiliter restauratum").¹⁶

In considering these documents it has usually been held that the present structure of San Miniato was started in or shortly after 1014 and finished in or before 1062. This is the dating of Davidsohn,¹⁷ Nardini,¹⁸ Supino,¹⁹ Behne,²⁰ Dami,²¹ Beenken,²² Toesca,²³ Salmi,²⁴ and Anthony.²⁵ Swoboda alone places the church in the twelfth century.²⁶ All these scholars agree in assuming that the masonry of the church is homogeneous and that the encrustation is considerably later than the structure itself (twelfth-thirteenth century). Both these assumptions we have seen to be wrong. To arrive at a sound and accurate dating, therefore, we shall need to use not only the documents, but whatever help is afforded by our knowledge of the development of masonry technique in Romanesque Florence.

3. SAN MINIATO AND OTHER FLORENTINE CHURCHES

In Figure 4 is reproduced a section of the campanile of the old Badia of Florence,²⁷ built between 967 and 978.²⁸ The masonry of this tower is decidedly more primitive than that of the oldest part of San Miniato. The shapes of the individual stones are arbitrary and irregular. The surface is hardly smoothed at all and the edges are only roughly trimmed. Giant blocks of green *macigno* are mixed in arbitrarily with *pietra forte* in a great variety of shapes, and with minute slabs of *alberese* and brick. Owing to the irregular dimensions of the stones, the joints between the courses do not run parallel, but converge and diverge according to circumstances. Thus we find the mixture of materials the same as that in the crypt walls of San Miniato (Figs. 1-3), but the technique of cutting the blocks of stone and fitting them is still more primitive. In San Miniato we found that the technique of masonry developed consistently from an irregular type using mixed materials to one highly schematized, using exclusively *pietra forte*. Therefore we may infer that the campanile of the Badia is older than the oldest parts of San Miniato. The latter must consequently date from a period later than 967-978.

A comparison with the masonry of the Badia di Settimo, seven miles west of Florence on the Arno river, gives us a still closer *terminus post quem* for the crypt of San Miniato. The church must have been built between 988 and 1011.²⁹ The drawing of a piece of the northern clerestory (Fig. 10) shows a type of masonry even cruder than that of the Florentine

16. St. 2984, Boehmer-Ficker, *Acta selecta*, no. 65. For the date of the document cf. Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, I, p. 35.

17. Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, I, p. 35.

18. Nardini, *Il duomo di San Giovanni*, Florence, 1902, pp. 148-149.

19. Supino, *Albori*, pp. 66-67.

20. Behne, *Inkrustationsstil*, pp. 116 ff.

21. Dami, "La basilica di S. Miniato," p. 220.

22. Beenken, "Florentiner Inkrustationsarchitektur," p. 245, and "Zur Romanischen Architektur in Toskana," *Kunstchronik*, 1928/29, p. 82.

23. Toesca, *Storia*, I, Part 2, p. 542.

24. Salmi, *Architettura romanica*, p. 38.

25. Anthony, *Early Florentine Architecture*, p. 23.

26. Swoboda, *Baptisterium*, p. 47, and "Zur Romanischen Kunst in der Toskana," *Kritische Berichte*, I/II, 1927/29, p. 73.

27. This photograph and also those reproduced in Figures 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, were taken by the author in 1937. Figures 2 and 4 have in the meantime been published by Walter Paatz, "Hauptströmungen in der Florentiner Baukunst," p. 53, Fig. 12 and p. 57, Fig. 14.

28. Documents, history, and reconstruction, cf. Mideldorf-Paatz, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, III, 1932, pp. 492-493, and (more ex-

tensively) Paatz, *Kirchen von Florenz*, I, pp. 265, 269 ff.

29. The monastery San Salvatore di Settimo was founded by Count Lothar the Cadulingian, according to documents of Henry II, dated March, 1014 (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Dipl.*, III, Hannover, 1900-1903, p. 361, no. 295) and Henry III, dated 1047 (*ibid.*, p. 225, no. 182). The first abbot Guarinus appears in documents from 1011 to 1034 (Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, I, p. 147, note 2). An "oratorium Sancti Salvatoris de Septimo," i.e., a simple country church without parochial rights (cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, VI [1886], p. 55) under the custodianship of a presbyter, Gumbertus, is mentioned as early as 988 (cf. E. Lasinio, "Un cartolario della badia cisterciense di S. Salvatore a Settimo," *Rivista storica benedettina*, I, 1906, pp. 521 ff., and by the same author, *Un antico inventario dalla badia di S. Salvatore di Settimo*, Florence, 1904, p. 33). In a document of Otto III, dated Pistoia, July 9, 998, in which this presbyter Gumbertus appears again, the church is referred to as "ecclesia." No mention is made of a monastery (cf. Kehr, *Regesta Pontificum, Italia Pontificia*, III, Etruria, 1908, p. 51). Lothar's abbey must therefore have been founded between 998 and 1011. It is to this period that we have to ascribe the remains of the early Romanesque basilica which are preserved in the Cistercian structure of the thirteenth century.

Badia. This apparent retrogression is doubtless the mark of its rural origin. The two Badias stand at the end of a long pre-Romanesque tradition of Florentine masonry work, the chief exponents of which are the Carolingian crypt of Santa Reparata and the remnants of the old campanile of Santa Maria Maggiore, which may date from a still earlier time.³⁰ I have included drawings of their masonry in the charts in Figures 10 and 11.

Thus we gain for the masonry of the oldest part of San Miniato a *terminus post quem* of 1011 and the corroborating evidence of the masonry of the Florentine Badia (967-978). A *terminus ante quem* for the crypt walls is furnished by certain portions of the masonry of San Pier' Scheraggio in Florence, which are preserved in the walls of the Uffizi (Fig. 7). This church was dedicated in 1068.³¹ Its masonry work is more advanced than that of the crypt walls of San Miniato, but less developed than that of the upper choir walls. It employs the uniform brown material of the latter in contrast to the polychromy of the crypt walls. It also shows a general preference for oblong shapes, but there is not yet the rhythmical pattern of thick and thin layers which we noticed in the later parts of San Miniato. And apart from that, there are still quite a few of the square blocks characteristic of the earlier crypt walls.

The earliest parts of San Miniato must therefore have been constructed some time after the Badia of Settimo and before San Pier' Scheraggio — that is, between 1011 and 1068. This enables us to identify this section with the work started by Bishop Hildebrand in 1014, confirming the conjecture put forth by Middeldorf and Paatz (cf. footnote 4 above). The upper parts of the choir must, on the other hand, be later than San Pier' Scheraggio. Figure 8 shows a section of the choir arcade of San Miniato corresponding to that of San Pier' Scheraggio reproduced in Figure 7. A comparison of these photographs and of the tracings in Figure 10 leaves no doubt that the masonry of the second building phase of San Miniato has advanced beyond the stage of San Pier' Scheraggio. The stones, of a more uniform size and cut and smoothed with greater accuracy, produce more regular courses, with strictly parallel joints. Square shapes are exceptional, if not entirely absent. On the whole, the stones are flatter and longer. There is a definite rhythm of thin and thicker courses.

The foregoing conclusions are strengthened by setting San Miniato beside another church, Santi Apostoli. The dates of Santi Apostoli have been rather precisely determined.³² The church is mentioned in a document of 1075,³³ and must consequently have been in existence at this time. On the other hand, it cannot have been begun much earlier than 1059, since its capitals belong to the same stage of development as those of the ground floor of the

30. The church of Santa Reparata, predecessor of the present Cathedral of Florence, was founded in early Christian times (cf. Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, I, pp. 37 ff.; *Forschungen*, I, p. 19). A dedication of the main altar, performed by Bishop Andrea (869-893), suggests that it was reconstructed or at least partially renewed in Carolingian times. A second renewal of the church must have been undertaken toward the middle of the eleventh century, as Paatz recognized ("Hauptströmungen in der Florentiner Baukunst," pp. 49 ff.). The only part of Santa Reparata which is preserved is the apse of the crypt, now under the pavement of the Cathedral. It is a remnant of the Carolingian church, with a few Romanesque additions, as I expect to demonstrate in a separate article.

The discovery that the present Gothic church of Santa Maria Maggiore contains large sections of Romanesque construction and the remains of a pre-Romanesque campanile was made by Walter Paatz (*op. cit.*, pp. 61-62).

31. Preserved are parts of the southern and northern nave walls (in the masonry of the Uffizi), the apse and the adjoining end wall of the south aisle (in the administrative buildings east of the Uffizi), and below the floor

of the Romanesque church the crypt of a pre-Romanesque building. These remains were carefully investigated in 1926 ff. by Piero Sanpaulesi; cf. his reconstruction in "San Pier Scheraggio," *Rivista d'arte*, XV, 1933, pp. 129-150, and XVI, 1934, pp. 1-28. The date of the dedication is known through a lost inscription of which a copy is preserved (Roselli, *Sepultuario*, Ms. Ricard. 2701, 352 b; reprinted in Cerrachini, *Cronologia sacra dei vescovi e archivescovi di Firenze*, Florence, 1718; G. Richa, *Notizie istoriche, delle chiese fiorentine*, Florence, 1754-1762, II, p. 5; Lami, *Sanctae ecclesiae Florentinae monumenta*, I, pp. 405, 1015). The reliability of the inscription was unnecessarily questioned by Arnaldo Cocchi in his *Chiese di Firenze*, Florence, 1903, p. 153 (cf. Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, I, pp. 243 ff. and Lami, *op. cit.*). That it was a total and not a partial consecration is clear from the fact that the dedication of minor altars is mentioned as well as that of the main altar.

32. For a discussion of the documents pertaining to the date of Santi Apostoli see W. Paatz, *Kirchen von Florenz*, I, "Santi Apostoli."

33. *Arch. di St. Fior. Bull.*, p. 317, note 3, reprinted in Anthony, *Early Florentine Architecture*, p. 87.

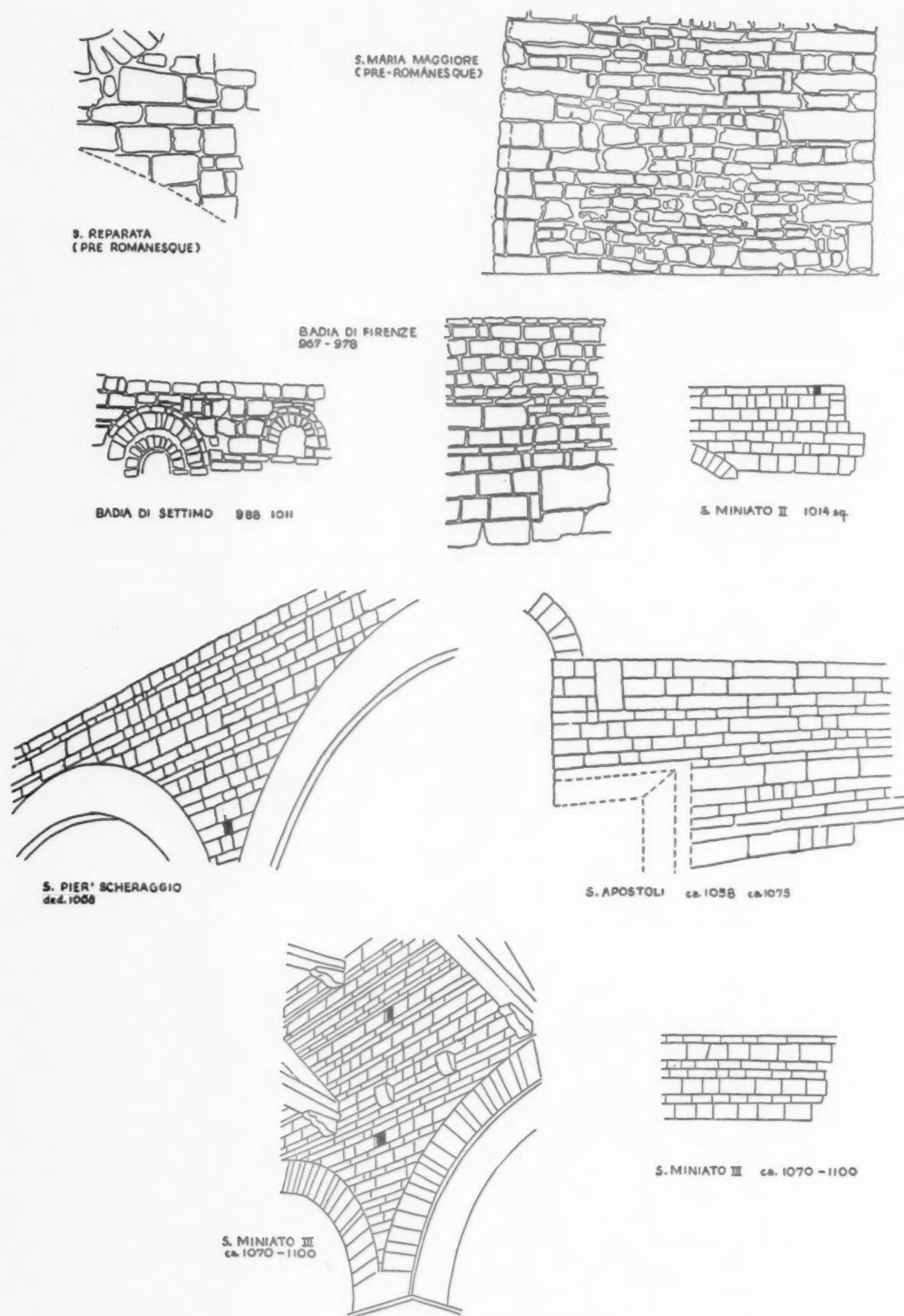


FIG. 10. Chart of the Development of Florentine Masonry Technique

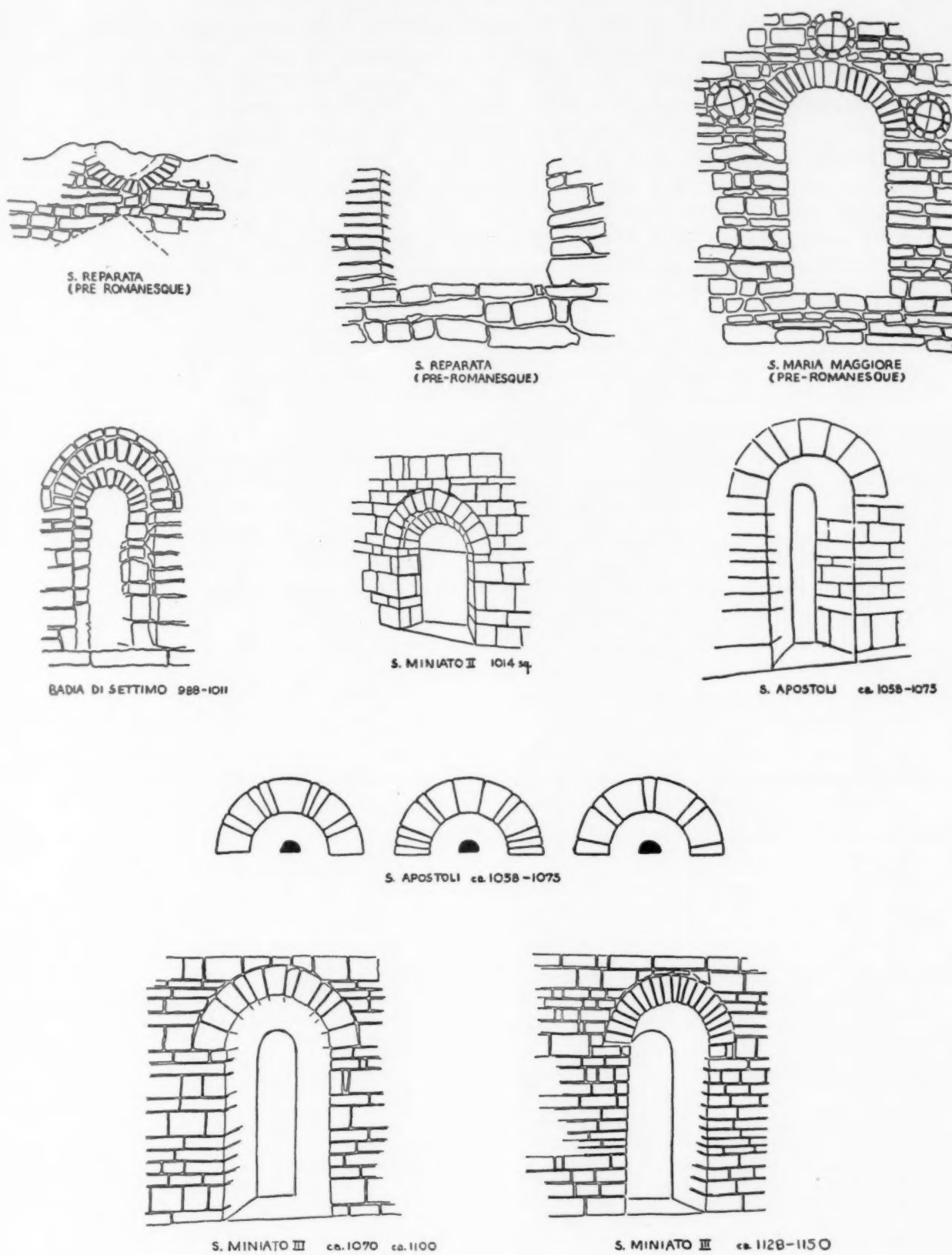


FIG. 11. Chart of the Development of the Window

Baptistery, which was begun at about that date.³⁴ Santi Apostoli, dating then from the third quarter of the eleventh century, has masonry of a type slightly more developed than that of San Pier' Scheraggio and slightly less than that of the choir and aisles of San Miniato. The tracing in Figure 10 shows that it has the flat, long format used in the choir of San Miniato, but there is not yet the pattern of alternating thin and thick layers.³⁵

Thus by a comparative study of the technique of masonry in eleventh-century Florence, we have arrived at the following chronological sequence: (1) crypt walls of San Miniato, started in 1014; (2) San Pier' Scheraggio, finished in 1068; (3) Santi Apostoli, ca. 1059-ca. 1075; (4) San Miniato: choir, aisles, and ground story of the façade.

The same development which we have followed in the general technique of masonry can be recognized when we look at a specific detail: the treatment of the window jambs and window arches. In Figure 11 I have collected a group of tracings taken from photographs of the same churches as those included in Figure 10. We note that in the pre-Romanesque examples from Santa Reparata and Santa Maria Maggiore and also in the early Romanesque examples from the Badia of Florence and the crypt of San Miniato, the panels between the windows are treated as separate units. The courses to the left and right of the opening do not correspond to one another in setting or in height. Santi Apostoli gives us the first case of a different treatment, wherein the courses run through embracing several windows. In the clerestory walls of San Miniato (third building phase), this concept of a continuous course system is predominant. Rather than thinking in terms of the individual sections of the wall, which are erected as independent panels between the window openings, the mason conceives his clerestory as a single entity punctuated at intervals by the windows. Figure 11 will also reveal that the technique of setting the stones in the window arches advances too. In the later examples the stones are more accurately cut in wedge shapes and likewise are more carefully aligned to the arc of the circle.

If these observations are correct, then the choir as well as the aisles and the ground story of the façade of San Miniato cannot have been in construction earlier than the last third of the eleventh century. I am inclined to believe that this second building period began about the year 1070. It can scarcely have begun much later, since the façade of the little Collegiata of Empoli, started according to its inscription in 1093,³⁶ seems to be based on the design of the façade of San Miniato.³⁷ But even if the relation to Empoli should remain

34. See footnote 1 above. Capitals from the Baptistery are illustrated in Horn, "Das Florentiner Baptisterium," Figs. 24-27; capitals from S. Felicità, *ibid.*, Figs. 8-9; capital from S. Apostoli, Salmi, *Architettura romanica*, Pl. 237, and Anthony, *op. cit.*, Figs. 23-24.

35. Drawn after the very poor photograph in *Atti della Società Colombaria di Firenze*, Florence, 1931, p. 13. A better photograph was not available. The drawing, however, renders the general characteristics of the masonry correctly.

36. The inscription reads: HOC OPUS EXIMIUM PRAEPOLLENS ARTE MAGISTRI BIS NOVIES LUSTRIS ANNIS TAM MILLE PERACTIS AC TRIBUS EST CEPTUM POST NATUM VIRGINE VERBUM QUOD STUDIO FRATRUM SUMMOQUE LABORE PATRATUM CONSTAT, RUDOLFI BONIZONIS PRESBITERUM ANSELMUS ROLANDI PRESBITERIQUE GERARDI UNDE DEO CARI CREDUNTUR ET AETHERE CLARI. The façade (or the entire church) was thus begun in 1093 and carried on during the presbyterates of Rudolfus, Bonizo, Anselmus, Rolandus, and Gerardus. The name of Rolandus appears in documents of 1106 and 1110 (Lami, *Deliciae eruditorum Florentii*, Florence, 1737, pp. x, xxi, xxiii ff.), that of Bonizo in a document of 1117 (*ibid.*, p. xxi). The façade (or the entire church) must have been finished about 1120/25 (depending on

the date of the presbyterate of Gerardus, which does not seem to be known). Swoboda (*Baptisterium*, p. 52), Frey (*Vasari*, I, p. 201), and Behne (*Inkrustationsstil*, p. 157) would connect the date of the inscription with the building of the church alone, claiming that the encrustation must have been executed in the second half of the twelfth or even in the thirteenth century (Frey). Swoboda's late dating of the encrustation of the façade rests on his late dating of San Miniato and the Baptistery. As I believe I have established that in the case of the Baptistery masonry and encrustation were executed simultaneously between 1058 and 1150 ("Das Florentiner Baptisterium"), the stylistic premises for Swoboda's late dating of Empoli no longer hold.

37. The relation between the façade of San Miniato and the façade of Empoli has been variously interpreted. The most widely accepted theory is that Empoli is a provincial derivative of San Miniato, a reasonable supposition. Thus Nardini (*San Giovanni*, p. 149), Supino (*Albani*, p. 65), Behne (*op. cit.*, p. 159), Beenken ("Florentiner Inkrustationsarchitektur," pp. 245 ff.), Anthony (*Early Florentine Architecture*, p. 29), and Paatz ("Hauptströmungen in der Florentiner Baukunst," p. 53). Rupp, however (*Inkrustationsstil der romanischen Baukunst zu Florenz*, Strassburg, 1912, pp. 94-103) and Salmi (*op. cit.*, p. 38, note 22) feel that the façade of Empoli is earlier than that of San Miniato because of its

open to question, the masonry of the lower story of the façade (which can be seen from the interior) could not be later than the last third of the eleventh century. It was doubtless here that construction began during this phase, since the technique is a little more primitive than that employed in the upper part of the choir. It is very similar to the masonry technique of Santi Apostoli (ca. 1059-ca. 1090) and the gallery of the Baptistry (ca. 1059-ca. 1090). There is not yet the systematic alternation of thin and thick courses which we find in the choir of San Miniato and in the attic of the Baptistry (ca. 1090-1128; Fig. 9).

Thus the analysis of the masonry of San Miniato leads to the same dating for the construction of the church as that which has always been maintained for the encrustation. The style of the encrustation clearly points toward the end rather than the beginning of the eleventh century. The lower story of the façade (Fig. 22) and the apse (Fig. 20) find their nearest parallel in the marble decoration of the Baptistry (Fig. 23).³⁸ The encrustation of the second story of the façade with its pictorial style leads, as we have seen, beyond the classical concept of the Baptistry and indicates a still later execution. Since the main body of the Baptistry, with its encrustation, seems to have been finished about 1128,³⁹ we might take this as a *terminus post quem* for the third building phase of San Miniato. At the earliest, then, we could attribute the second story of the façade to the second quarter of the twelfth century.

This conclusion is supported by the style of another decorative feature, the carved pilaster capitals. The pilaster capitals of the second story of the façade (Fig. 15) are derived, as already mentioned,⁴⁰ from those of the pilasters flanking the apse (Fig. 14). The prototypes of these are in turn the pilaster capitals of the gallery of the Baptistry (Fig. 12). Their ultimate source is a capital of Roman type, of which Salmi found an excellent example in the museum of Aquileia.⁴¹ In the Baptistry this type appears twice, once in the galleries inside, and a second time a story higher on the exterior of the attic (Fig. 13). If one tries to establish a stylistic sequence among these capitals, one will find that those of the façade of San Miniato are by far the most developed. The sequence runs: (1) gallery capitals of the Baptistry, (2) apse capitals of San Miniato, (3) attic capitals of the Baptistry, (4) second-story-façade capitals of San Miniato.

The development is toward a more plastic and organic treatment. In the gallery capitals of the Baptistry the relief is thin and flat. The design of the acanthus leaves is uncertain. The lobes of the leaf are not clearly defined, the central section is treated like a flat band in which ribs are roughly indicated by straight grooves. In the apse capitals of San Miniato the carving is deeper. The design is more articulate, the individual lobes of the leaf are set off against each other by pendant-shaped grooves of shadow which begin to reveal the skeleton of the leaf. One can clearly differentiate between a stronger central rib and two thinner laterals. In the capital on the north side of the apse the grooves are even curved. The attic capitals of the Baptistry are very close to those of the apse of San Miniato, but they are more vigorously carved, as is noticeable particularly in the leaves at the edges. The pro-

archaic simplicity. This "archaism" may rather be the earmark of the provincial copy. Only the lower story of the façade remains intact. The sections above the inscribed architrave were almost completely rebuilt in the eighteenth century, incorporating the Romanesque corner pilasters, central window, and pediment. The original design can be seen in two copies, a shield in the Opera di San Andrea (Salmi, *op. cit.*, Fig. 14), and a seal of 1260 (Toesca, *Storia*, p. 1124), but it is difficult to judge of the style from these. Of the masonry of the façade wall nothing is preserved, or at least visible.

Paatz's dating for San Miniato (ca. 1100-ca. 1150) is incompatible with his own assumption that the design

of Empoli was fashioned after San Miniato. At least part of the façade must have been finished when its design was released to serve as a model for the provincial derivative.

38. Cf. above pp. 114-115.

39. Cf. note 1 and Horn, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

40. See above p. 114.

41. Salmi, *op. cit.*, p. 36, Fig. 65. Cf. also *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Archaeologischen Institutes, 46), 1931, cols. 1 to 102, where the capital from Aquileia (col. 62, fig. 65) is united with many other specimens of its kind; cf. in particular one in the Museum of Torino, *ibid.*, col. 46, fig. 51.

file no longer forms a straight line, but slants outward in a curve, with a new dynamic tension. Finally, in the capitals of the upper story of the façade of San Miniato, straight lines are completely eliminated. Everything is curved, even the capital itself. The leaves seem to unfurl under an organic pressure from within. The grooves are no longer two-dimensional, cut-out pendants of shadow; they are the background from which emerge plastically modelled ribs and lobes. The style of these capitals finds its closest parallel in the capitals of the lantern on top of the Baptistry, built in 1150 (Fig. 16).⁴²

4. RESULT

The analysis of the masonry showed that nothing of the early Christian building of San Miniato is preserved in the present structure. The eastern walls of the crypt must be part of the *confessio* built by Bishop Hildebrand between 1014 and 1018. That Hildebrand's plans for a restoration were not fully carried out with the building of a new *confessio*, we learn from the document of 1028 of Bishop Lambert ("quae fuerant necessaria explere non valuit"). If during the episcopate of Hildebrand the church was "nimia vetustate neglectam atque pene destructam," it would have needed more than the building of a new *confessio* or crypt. Hildebrand may have played with the idea of rebuilding the entire church. He may have designed and placed his *confessio* in such a way that it could be incorporated as crypt into a new and more ambitious project, as indeed it was half a century later. There is, however, nothing whatsoever in the documentary material which would indicate that Hildebrand had actually started on such a project. Bishop Lambert's assertion that Hildebrand "could not complete that which was necessary," though he had done "whatever he could to increase the rising beauty of the poor monastery," speaks definitely against such an assumption.⁴³ Nor does the document of 1062 attest such action. It refers to the monastery (*monasterium*) as a whole, not to the church in particular; and the modest phrasing — "decenter constructum ut modo honorabiliter restauratum" — points to a mere restoration rather than to a reconstruction of the early Christian building.⁴⁴ This seems reasonable when a complete reconstruction was deemed necessary and undertaken — according to the testimony of masonry and encrustation — as early as ca. 1070.

Moreover, if the activity of Bishop Hildebrand and his immediate successors did not extend beyond the building of a new *confessio*, then the early Christian church must still have been in place when the main part of the new building was started around 1070. I am inclined to believe (and hope that future excavations may prove it) that the early Christian church of San Miniato occupied the area between the present façade and the transverse arch separating the nave from the choir (cf. Fig. 27, where the early Christian church is hypothetically reconstructed in dotted lines). It was probably used and even remained intact

42. Cf. note 1 and Horn, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–109.

43. Even Walter Paatz follows the common interpretation of the documents of 1018, 1028, and 1062 which regards them as proof of the rebuilding of the early Christian structure in the first half of the eleventh century. Cf. Paatz, *op. cit.*, p. 53: "Unvereinbar dagegen bleibt meine Datierung mit der völlig einwandfrei überlieferten (sic!) und auf keine Weise zu bezweifelnden Tatsache, dass schon 1014 ein Neubau der Kirche in Gang kam, dass bereits 1018 die Krypta dieser neuen Kirche in Benutzung genommen werden konnte und dass die Bautätigkeit bis in die zweite Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts andauerte." Paatz was misled by Davidsohn, who — while rightly criticising the art historians ("die nach ihrem durch dokumentarische Forschungen nicht in Verwirrung gesetzten sogenannten 'Stilgefühl' urteilen") — has himself become the victim of an erroneous interpretation of the documents (*Forschungen*, 1, 34; likewise

Dami, "La basilica di San Miniato al Monte," *Bollettino d'arte*, IX, 1915, p. 2.8).

Paatz considers that the east walls of the crypt of San Miniato belong to Bishop Hildebrand's rebuilding of the church proper. The crypt mentioned by Hildebrand in the document of 1018 he believes to have stood somewhere below the present crypt. But the windows in this east wall have the design and dimensions of crypt and not of choir windows. Thus there is every reason to accept the simplest explanation, namely, that the remaining crypt wall was part of the crypt built by Bishop Hildebrand.

44. For the interpretation of this document, cf. the discussion between Swoboda (*Baptisterium*, p. 45, and *Kritische Berichte*, p. 73) and Beenken ("Florentiner Inkrustationsarchitektur," p. 245, and "Romanischen Architektur," p. 82).



FIG. 12. Baptistry: Capital of Gallery



FIG. 13. Baptistry: Capital of Attic



FIG. 14. San Miniato: Capital of Triumphal Arch



FIG. 15. San Miniato: Capital of Second Story of the Façade



FIG. 16. Baptistry: Capital of Lantern



FIG. 17. Pisa, Cathedral: Detail of Encrustation, South Wall of Choir, with Roman and Late Antique Spoils



FIG. 18. Pisa, Cathedral: Roman Tombstone Used as Window Jamb, South Wall of Choir



FIG. 19. Pisa, Cathedral: Fragment of Roman Altar(?) Imbedded in Masonry



FIG. 20. San Miniato: Interior

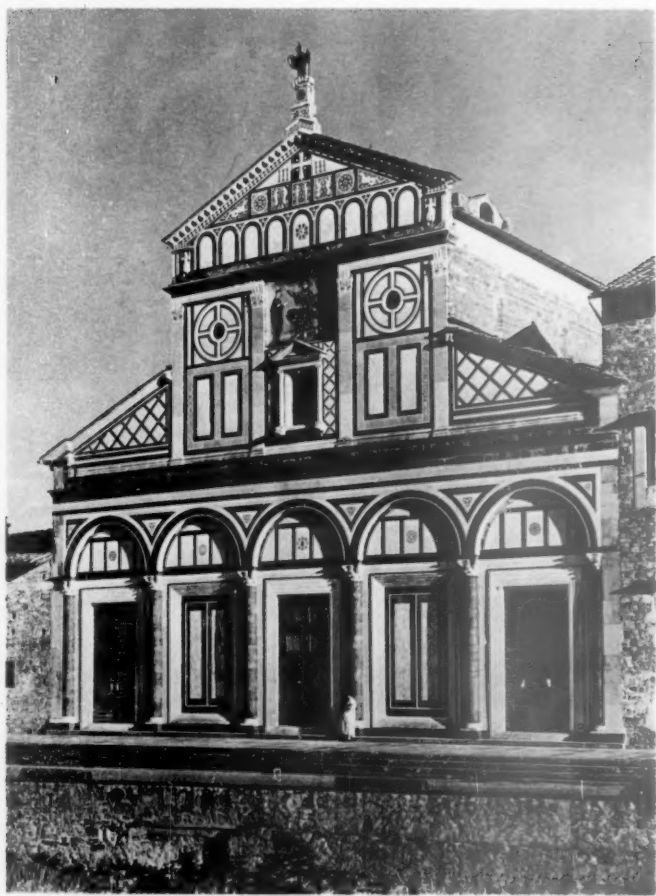


FIG. 22. San Miniato: Façade

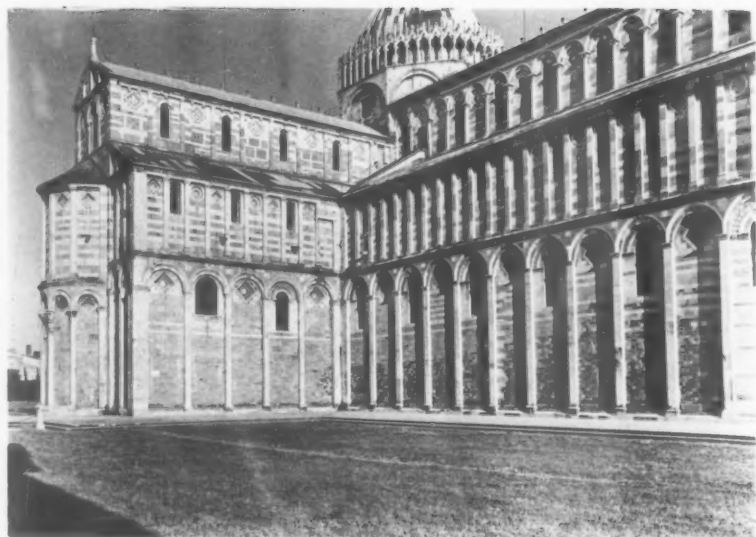


FIG. 21. Pisa, Cathedral from the Southwest (photograph: Arnold von Borsig)



FIG. 23. Baptistery: Exterior

until the present church had grown to a point which allowed the transfer of the service into the new structure. This point would be reached upon the completion of the choir. Such a conjecture would explain why the clerestory of the nave was not built simultaneously with the aisle walls, according to the usual procedure. The aisle walls were evidently constructed *around* the early Christian church. But in order to erect the arcades and clerestory of the nave, the early Christian church would have had to be razed. Even after the service was moved into the new choir, this was apparently not done for some time. This delay in carrying the new building to completion may have been due, of course, to a temporary shortage of funds.

The probability that the design of the façade was copied in Empoli as early as 1093 suggests that the lower story of the façade of San Miniato (with the aisle walls and the choir) was in existence at this date. And such a date for the second building stage of the church fits extremely well into our outline of the development of Florentine masonry.

The third building stage includes the encrustation of the second story of the façade, which represents a later phase of development than the encrusted decoration of the attic of the Baptistry (*ca.* 1090–1128). The close relationship of its capitals with those of the lantern of the Baptistry (executed in 1150) implies that it was most probably constructed between 1128 and 1150. The pediment, finally, must have been designed in the beginning of the thirteenth century, slightly before or after the execution of the floor mosaic with the inscription of 1207. This, as Salmi argues convincingly, may very likely mark the end of the main construction work on San Miniato.⁴⁵

II — PROTO-RENAISSANCE AND ROMANESQUE

Through an examination of masonry technique and of decoration it has been possible to establish the chronological sequence within a group of Florentine churches of the eleventh century. This group represents a style of great individuality, highly defined in its character, and of such strong classical flavor that it is commonly denoted by the term Proto-Renaissance. Yet it appears — a remarkable architectural efflorescence — at the same moment as the high Romanesque style in the north. It is not only a classical revival. It is one of the few truly mediaeval developments which ever grew out of the soil of Italy.

This dual character of Florentine eleventh-century architecture is most clearly expressed in the proportions employed and in its spatial articulation. In Figures 28, 30, and 31, I have collected a series of plans, sections, and elevations of the basilicas under consideration, redrawn according to the same scale.⁴⁶ From them we shall be able to see what changes occur from one building to the next as the century progresses, and thus to grasp the concept underlying the formation of the style.

The least developed of these basilicas is the church of the Badia di Settimo (between 998 and 1011).⁴⁷ With its simple basilican plan, its low and wide proportions, and its isolated campanile, the church is still deeply rooted in the early Christian tradition. The

45. Salmi, *Architettura romanica*, p. 38, note 21.

46. The plan and section of the abbey of Settimo have never been published. The church was restored by Mr. R. Niccoli in 1928–1931, to whom I am deeply obliged for his kindness in allowing me the use of his original drawings. A plan of San Miniato is reproduced in Swoboda, *Baptisterium*, Fig. 31, and in Salmi, *Architettura romanica*, Fig. 9; a longitudinal section of the church was published by Dehio and Bezold, *Kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, Stuttgart, 1887, I, Pl. 69, Fig. 2. For the plan of Santi Apostoli (by Zumkeller), cf. Walter Paatz, *Kirchen von Florenz*, I, p. 232; for a partial

elevation of Santi Apostoli, see Dehio and Bezold, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 72, Figs. 5–6. A complete set of drawings for San Pier' Scheraggio was published by Piero Sanpaulesi in *Rivista d'arte*, XV, 1933, pp. 129 ff. and XVI, 1934, pp. 1 ff. Since original drawings were available to me only for the abbey of Settimo, minor mistakes may have occurred in the process of transferring the other drawings from reproductions of various sizes to a common scale. But such mistakes would hardly be big enough to upset the validity of the subsequent conclusions.

47. For the date see note 29 above.

ratio of width to height in the nave is 1:1.5. The clerestory is considerably higher than the arcades and the width of the aisles amounts to almost two thirds of the width of the nave.⁴⁸ Even here there are also features which are not early Christian but progressive in the mediaeval sense. The arcades are very wide; and piers are used instead of columns. There is a relatively elaborate elevated crypt. The exterior is articulated by means of pilaster strips and arched corbel tables.⁴⁹ Some of these mediaeval features are found elsewhere in contemporary Italian architecture. Wide arcades are common from the ninth century on (abbey church of Pomposa, eighth to ninth century; S. Pietro in Agliata, ninth century; S. Giorgio in Velabro, Rome, 827-844).⁵⁰ The use of piers instead of columns seems to be rare, but it does occur in the church of San Pietro in Aquilino,⁵¹ as does the articulation of the exterior walls.⁵² The most unusual and progressive characteristic of the Badia di Settimo is the disposition of the crypt. It is one of the first Italian examples to span the entire width of the church and thus initiates the development which culminates in the elaborate hall-crypts of the second half of the eleventh century.⁵³ (See Figs. 28A, 30A, 31A.)

The turning point for the growth of the mediaeval strain in Florentine architecture comes with San Pier' Scheraggio (dedicated 1068). Here the proportions have undergone a thorough change. The nave is more than twice as high as it is wide, and the width of the aisles is just half the width of the nave (the standard Romanesque proportion). The arcade openings are widened to the utmost. The crypt extends the entire length of the deep choir, a true hall-crypt. And an important innovation is found in the transverse arch, which rises from elongated shafts supported on clustered piers and divides the entire church into a choir house and a lay house. The clustered pier and transverse arch may have antecedents in slightly earlier Lombard churches, but in San Pier' Scheraggio they are presented with a sureness which is characteristically Florentine.⁵⁴ The church remains early Christian, however, in the relation of the clerestory to the arcades. The clerestory is almost one and a quarter times as high as the arcades. (See Figs 28B, 30B, 31B.)

In San Miniato al Monte (ca. 1070-ca. 1150) the Florentine Romanesque reaches its full maturity. The arcades push high into the clerestory walls. The ratio between height of arcade and height of clerestory is now 1:0.8 (in contrast to 1:1.20 in San Pier' Scheraggio). More important than this, however, is the duplication of the transverse arch with its supports. The two arches occur at a regular interval, dividing the church into three equal

48. The exact ratio of aisle to nave = 1:1.6.

49. A photograph of the north wall is reproduced by H. Thümmler, "Die Baukunst des 11. Jahrhunderts in Italien," *Römisches Jahrbuch*, III, 1939, p. 156, Fig. 147. The apse of the north aisle is reproduced in Salmi, *Architettura romanica*, p. 33, Fig. 30.

50. For Pomposa, cf. Salmi, *L'abbazia di Pomposa*, Rome, 1936; for San Pietro in Agliate, A. Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, New Haven (Conn.), 1916, II, pp. 31 ff. and 663 ff.; for San Giorgio in Velabro, Thümmler, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-156.

51. End of the eleventh, beginning of the twelfth century; see Porter, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 25 ff. and Thümmler, *loc. cit.*

52. In San Apollinare in Classe and in Santo Spirito, Ravenna, where pilasters and arched corbel tables first appear in basilican architecture, they remain confined to the window zone. In the apse of S. Pietro in Agliate they are extended to the entire height of the wall (cf. Thümmler, *op. cit.*, p. 147, Fig. 135). San Pietro in Aquilino and the abbey of Settimo appear to be the first churches to apply this decoration also to the aisle walls (Settimo) or to both aisle and clerestory walls (Aquilino).

53. The crypt extends underneath all three apses and protrudes into the nave to the depth of one bay. Its plan is in its general layout closely related to the crypt of

San Pietro in Agliate. As there, the central section is composed of three aisles covered with groin vaults (3 x 3 bays in Settimo; 3 x 5 in Agliate), whereas the lateral extensions are covered with a single larger vault. In Agliate, however, the nave and aisle sections of the crypt are still separated from one another by heavy walls. Along with the abbey church of Farneta near Arezzo (beginning of the eleventh century, according to Thümmler, *op. cit.*, p. 194, Fig. 142), Settimo seems to be the first example where a single crypt space spans the entire width of the church.

54. Cf. Paatz, "Hauptströmungen in der Florentiner Baukunst," p. 46, and Thümmler, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 ff.

If the datings of Kingsley Porter are correct (cf. *Lombard Architecture*, I, *passim*, and in particular pp. 94-96), Lombardy has the priority in introducing the transverse arch across both nave and aisles. Beenken's ("Florentiner Inkrustationsarchitektur," p. 247) and Salmi's (*op. cit.*, p. 37, note 21) claim for Tuscany's priority was based on their erroneous dating of San Miniato (1014-1062). If San Pier' Scheraggio was consecrated in 1068, the construction must have been started by about the middle of the century. The Lombard examples seem to be earlier and there the motive occurs more frequently.

parts. The continuous colonnade is thus rhythmically punctuated by the clustered piers, and to match this vertical articulation a new horizontal element is introduced, an entablature which runs above the arcades marking off the nave walls into an arcade zone and a clerestory zone.⁵⁵ (See Figs. 28D, 30D, 31D.)

These innovations have a great stylistic importance. The simple, recumbent spaces of the early Christian basilica have given way to the more complex mediaeval organization. The horizontal master unit of the nave of San Miniato can thus be interpreted as the sum of three vertical sub-units (Fig. 30D). This principle of constructing a space by intersecting horizontal master-voids with vertical sub-voids is mediaeval. We can observe its gradual evolution in Germany and France from the eighth century on. It is the result of an increasingly complex articulation of the wall and ceiling by means of shafts, arches, and groins. These members penetrate the space in all directions (like the bones of a vertebrate), subdividing the church into bays and at the same time weaving the individual parts into a rigid geometrical pattern (the "quadratic system"). The development reaches a first climax in the middle of the eleventh century in the high Romanesque style of Normandy and the Rhine valley. With the introduction of the clustered pier and the transverse arch Florence begins to take part in the main European evolution. In San Miniato even a classical element is used to serve this mediaeval concept: the entablature above the arcades. It unites with the shafts supporting the transverse arches to form a skeletal frame. As in the north, this frame embraces and penetrates the space in all directions (Fig. 20).

Florence, however, does not surrender completely to mediaevalism. Her Romanesque basilicas retain the early Christian timber roof and a simple floor plan without transept. To a large degree they keep the wide, self-contained early Christian spaces. Thus San Pier' Scheraggio was composed of two large units, a dominant horizontal unit (the lay house), and a secondary vertical unit (the choir house), whose height only slightly exceeded its width. San Miniato, like northern Romanesque churches, is an aggregate of regular vertical units, but the proportions of these individual units remain broad and low compared to the high, narrow spaces of the north. In the relation of width to height in the nave, San Miniato seems to reaffirm the classical feeling for balanced proportions even more strongly than San Pier' Scheraggio (Fig. 28B and D). It is a remarkable fact that every move nearer to the mediaeval is accompanied and compensated for by an equally vigorous move toward the classical. The relation of width to height of the nave in San Pier' Scheraggio was 1:2.20; in San Miniato it is 1:1.75. This looks like a reversal of the development leading from the Badia di Settimo (width to height of nave 1:1.5) to San Pier' Scheraggio.

After San Miniato and San Pier' Scheraggio the analysis of Santi Apostoli (*ca.* 1059-*ca.* 1075) should not present any difficulty. (See Figs. 28C, 30C, 31C.) In general proportions it ranks exactly in the middle between San Pier' Scheraggio and San Miniato (width of aisle to width of nave more or less the same as in the other churches; width to height of nave 1:2.00 as compared to 1:2.20 in San Pier' Scheraggio and 1:1.75 in San Miniato). The proportions of the nave arcade come closer to those of San Miniato than to those of San Pier' Scheraggio. And the same holds true for the relation of the arcade openings to the clerestory (height of arcades to height of clerestory in San Pier' Scheraggio, 1:1.20; in Santi Apostoli, 1:0.77; in San Miniato, 1:0.70). In contradistinction to both other churches Santi Apostoli lacks the motive of clustered pier and transverse arch. Basing his argument partly on the absence of these elements, Walter Paatz would divide the Florentine architecture of the eleventh century into two antagonistic factions: one a classical revival, manifested in Santi Apostoli and the Baptistery, and the other a mediaeval develop-

55. The entablature is encrusted with marble only in the choir. In the nave it is painted, but it may be as-

sumed that encrustation was intended here, too (cf. footnote 7 above).

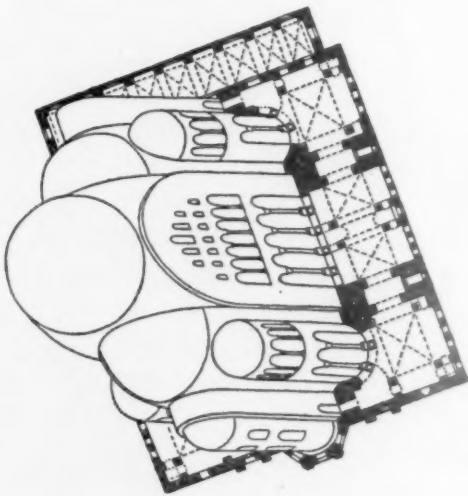


FIG. 24. Constantinople: Hagia Sophia: Analysis of Space

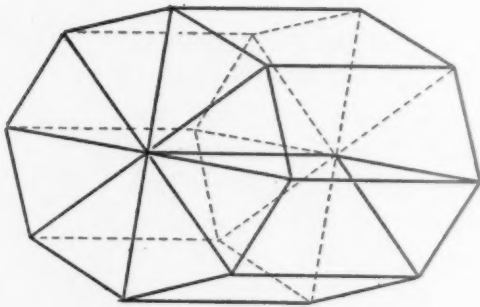


FIG. 25. Baptistery: Analysis of Space

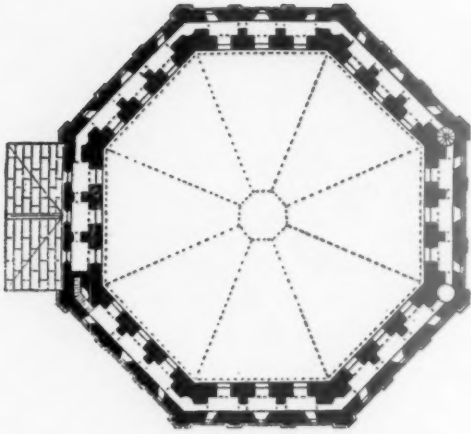


FIG. 26. Baptistery: Plan of Second Story

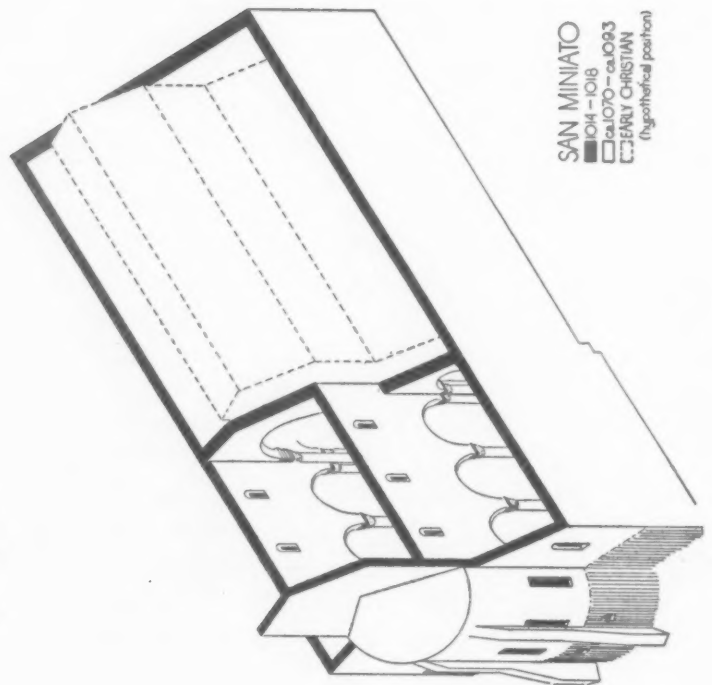


FIG. 27. San Miniato: Stages of Construction

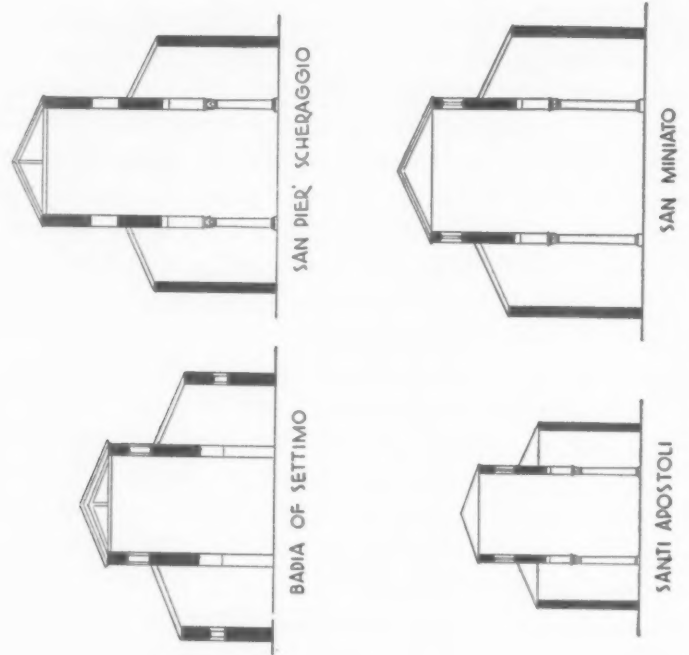


FIG. 28. Cross Sections Through Nave

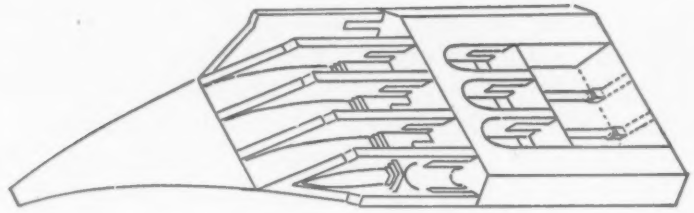


FIG. 29. Baptistery: Constructive System

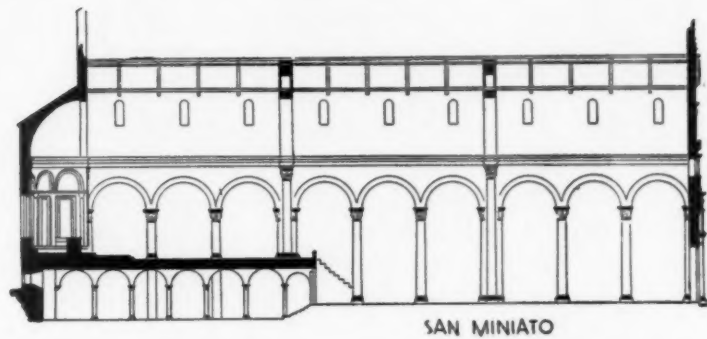
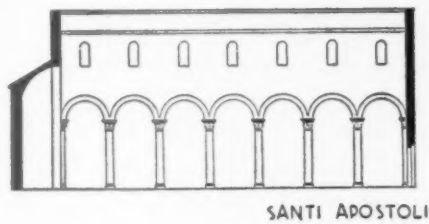
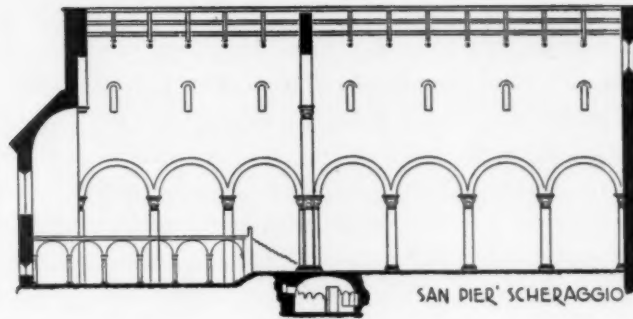
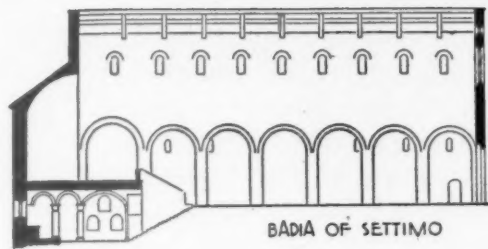


FIG. 30A

FIG. 30B

CHART OF LONGITUDINAL SECTIONS

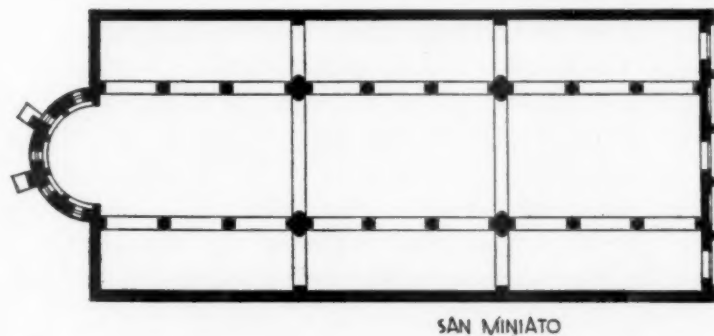
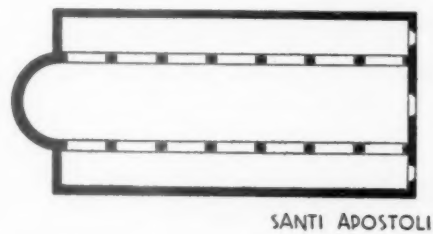
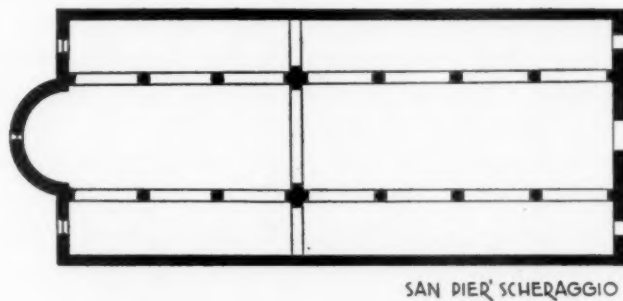
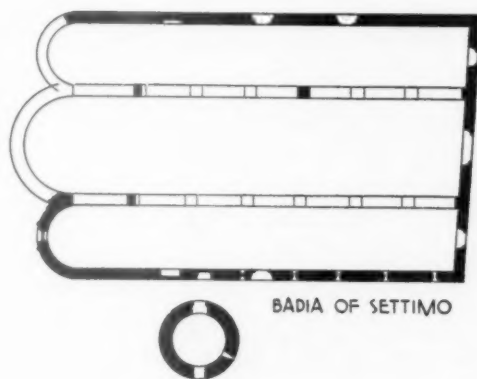


FIG. 31A

FIG. 31B

CHART OF PLANS

ment to be seen in San Pier' Scheraggio, Santa Trinità,⁵⁶ and San Miniato.⁵⁷ I do not believe that there is evidence for such a schism within the group. In Santi Apostoli the lack of the transverse arch seems to me rather a question of simplicity. It is a church of modest size and décor, the encrustation, for example, hardly going beyond the columns of the interior. Nor can the contraction of the arcades (as compared with San Pier' Scheraggio) be interpreted as an intentional revival of the narrow early Christian intercolumniation; for the spaces are not only narrowed, but also considerably heightened.⁵⁸ Such a tendency leads away from the early Christian into the mediaeval and not contrariwise. On the other hand, we have already noted that San Miniato strengthens not only the mediaeval component but also the classical one in the architecture of the Florentine Proto-Renaissance.

In contradistinction to Paatz, I should hold, not that some of these churches are basically classical and others mediaeval, but that the two strains are found together in each individual structure. This is especially striking in the two most developed representatives of the style, San Miniato and the Baptistery.

Paatz has approved the main results of an analysis of the Baptistery which I have published elsewhere,⁵⁹ but he feels that I have overemphasized the mediaeval aspect of this building at the expense of its classical features.⁶⁰ This criticism may be just, since my study was chiefly devoted to the task of refuting once and for all the traditional notion that the Baptistery was built in early Christian or even in Roman times. Paatz supplements my analysis with most valuable observations when he stresses the classicism of the building. But I am convinced that classical and mediaeval features are rather evenly matched in the Baptistery as in the basilicas, and that it is not the "more" or "less," but the very equality of these two elements in the mixture, which forms the specific character of the Florentine style of the eleventh century. To corroborate this contention, I should like to give what appears to me to be an integration of the results of my own work on the Baptistery and those of Paatz.

Purely mediaeval, without any parallels in classical, early Christian, or Byzantine art, is the main constructive feature of the building. The walls and even the lower section of the dome are split into two separate shells (Fig. 26), which are connected and fortified by an internal buttress system (Fig. 29). The principle employed is the mediaeval one of active resistance.⁶¹ The decoration, however, is classical in many respects. The subdivision of the wall, both inside and on the exterior, into two stories and an attic by means of classic entablatures is an arrangement most probably derived from the Pantheon (Fig. 23).⁶² The individual stories are further defined by a relief of columns and arcades with capitals of a remarkably pure classical type (Figs. 12, 13). It is a determining factor in the general appearance of the building "that the columns and pilasters have regained their classical massiveness and shape, that the relation of support and interval is regulated anew by a rigid law and that the well-proportioned plane is rehabilitated."⁶³ But it is equally decisive that structure and decoration are interrelated in an unclassical and unmistakably mediaeval manner. The design of the encrusted relief on the exterior reflects that of the interior, and, what is more significant, both follow the lines of the structural skeleton hidden within, of the corner piers and the transverse buttresses.⁶⁴ It is true that the general organization of the wall is

56. I have intentionally omitted the church of Santa Trinità in this discussion. In its fragmentary state of preservation it would require a special study.

57. "Hauptströmungen in der Florentiner Baukunst," pp. 33-72. See particularly the paragraph "Antikische und Romanische Richtungen in den Basiliken der Inkrustationsarchitektur," pp. 43-49.

58. Paatz, *op. cit.*, p. 46. Paatz's contention that "die Arkadenreihe bleibt im ganzen niedrig, der Obergaden

dagegen strebt ziemlich hoch auf — wie in den frühchristlich-spätantiken Basiliken" is clearly wrong.

59. See note 1 above.

60. Paatz, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

61. Horn, "Das Florentiner Baptisterium," pp. 117 ff.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 127, and Paatz, *op. cit.*, p. 35. The interior of the Baptistery is illustrated in this issue of the ART BULLETIN, plate facing p. 134.

63. Paatz, *loc. cit.*

64. Horn, *loc. cit.*, pp. 125-126.

strongly influenced by the Pantheon,⁶⁵ and that owing to this and to the extreme simplicity and compactness of the interior space the Baptistery echoes something of the "noble and simple tone" of the greatest of Roman space conceptions. But it is also true that it has essentially the abstract spatial organization of the high Romanesque. The space is no longer treated like a colossal sculptured "void," as in the Pantheon or in Hagia Sophia (Fig. 24). It is developed from a basic unit of measurement (the prism drawn with heavy outlines in Fig. 25), which pivots around the axis of the building to form a prism of a higher order, the whole being related to its parts like the whole of an orange to its individual sections.⁶⁶ Stereometrically speaking, the Baptistery is a truncated decahedron. Such an abstract stereometric organization of the plan of a building and its space is unknown in classical, Byzantine, or early Christian art. It finds its match in the transverse articulation of the contemporary Florentine basilicas and in the more complex spatial organization of contemporary Norman and German architecture. In the Baptistery, then, we find once more the fusion of two ways of regarding space: the space-inscribing concept of the late antique world combined with the space-intersecting concept of the mediaeval world. It is the same synthesis whose growth we were able to observe in the development of the Florentine basilicas.

Paatz is again right when he says: "Truly antique, finally, and of indisputably fundamental significance, is a feature which to Swoboda and Horn did not appear worthy of mention, probably because of its self-evidence, but which notwithstanding determines the historical position of the building decidedly; it is the sumptuousness of the total decorative effect. The simple grey of the *macigno*,⁶⁷ the white and green of the marble from Carrara and Prato, the shimmer of the gilding, the glowing red of the *cippolino*, the glimmer of the polychrome floor mosaic, the spiritualized splendor of the glass mosaics which penetrate the structure with their innumerable patterns. This many-voiced, amazingly rich and finely tuned accord is certainly not Romanesque."⁶⁸ And yet, though this encrustation goes back to pre-mediaeval sources, the very examples which Paatz cites illustrate how differently the borrowed patterns behave within the new context. The encrusted patterns of the Baptistery do not merely act as decorative fillers of the wall panels between the arcades. Paatz has, I believe, made a methodological mistake in basing his analysis on a single section of the building.⁶⁹ The upper half of the exterior wall section which he reproduces is, it is true, organized in what may be called a classical manner. Here the border strips of *verde di Prato* act like frames around the panels which they confine, echoing on a lower plane the superimposed relief of arcades. But the horizontal bands immediately under the window sills and the triforium-like configuration below these bands do not stop at the columns and pilasters in relief (Fig. 23). They seem to run uninterruptedly around the entire building in a continuous pattern, disengaging the background plane from the superimposed arcades. The effect of a perforated front plane silhouetted against an unbroken curtain wall is, as Swoboda has pointed out, characteristically Romanesque.⁷⁰

One must look at the Baptistery from a distance in order to grasp fully the abstract linear design of its encrustation. Its character becomes very evident when a general view of the Baptistery is laid beside general views of the buildings which Paatz has rightly connected with it: the Neon Baptistery in Ravenna, San Vitale, Hagia Sophia. For the encrustation of these buildings is restricted to the interior, or even to certain portions of the interior. In no Roman, early Christian, or Byzantine building is the encrustation spread

65. Not only the entablature, but also the niche system of the interior and the strip of coffered ceiling at the foot of the dome, cf. Horn, *loc. cit.*, p. 127, and Paatz, *loc. cit.*

66. Horn, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 ff.

67. The present corner strips of horizontal slabs of white and green marble are due to a restoration by Ar-

nolfo di Cambio. Originally these strips were done in *macigno*. Cf. Swoboda's reconstruction in *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, II, 1933, Pl. 5 a and b.

68. Paatz, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 38, Fig. 3.

70. Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 65. Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

over the entire surface inside and out. Moreover, in the late antique styles it is applied more or less at random as an enrichment. In the Baptistery of Florence it is used to interpret the system of the construction. Paatz has also felt that there is a distinction. He qualifies his own objections to Swoboda and Horn in his conclusion, stating that the total effect of the Baptistery is "neither Byzantine as that of St. Mark's in Venice, nor oriental as that of the contemporary cathedral of Pisa, nor classical in the manner of the early empire"; it has indeed "no parallels at all."⁷¹ The encrustation possesses the same ambivalence which is manifested in almost every other part of the building. It is as mediaeval as it is classical.

When seen against the background of contemporary Italian architecture, the architecture of Florence is found to be at the same time closer to the purely antique and to the purely mediaeval than any other regional style. In the neighboring seaport of Pisa there is in the same generation an outburst of architectural activity comparable in many respects to that of Florence. The Cathedral, started in 1063, outdoes any Florentine building of the period in sumptuousness and in the range of influences which it reflects. Quantitatively it incorporates as many "classical" elements as the Baptistery or as San Miniato, if not considerably more. Its marble encrustation is not only inspired by Roman models but largely composed of pillaged Roman materials.⁷² The columns of the nave, of granite from the island of Elba, were stolen from ancient temples. The capitals constitute a real museum, illustrating the whole range of sculptural development from imperial Roman up to Byzantine times.⁷³ The walls are studded with Roman artifacts: fragments of gravestones, even altar-pieces (Figs. 17-19). But these elements are treated like trophies. They are superimposed upon rather than integrated into the general structure. And the same eclectic borrowing is found in the mediaeval features of the Cathedral of Pisa. The plan is not developed from the local early Christian tradition as is the case with the Florentine basilicas. It is a variation upon an eastern type, the church of Hagios Demetrios in Saloniki.⁷⁴ In some particulars the Cathedral seems more mediaeval than San Miniato: the vaulting above the aisles, the presence of a transept and a fore-choir, the steep proportions of the nave. But it lags behind its smaller Florentine sister in something more essentially mediaeval: the skeletal system with its corollary, a stereometric handling of the voids. San Miniato is more "antique" than Pisa in that it retains more distinctly the bulky, voluminous early Christian space. But it is more "mediaeval" in the rhythmical subdivision of the space into a sequence of equal bays. In that respect the Baptistery and San Miniato stand apart with equal decisiveness from the architecture of Pisa.

Pisa and Florence together initiated an architectural school which is identified by its ample use of marble encrustation. But even in the handling of this encrustation the two cities differ in a characteristic manner. In Pisa the rich encrustation has the textural quality of an oriental carpet. The oldest parts of the church are built in stone modulating in color from a golden yellow through all shades of brown to a deep copper red. The choir is encrusted with precious blue- and red-veined marbles from ancient Roman buildings, while the local marble used for the main body of the church ranges from a light bluish or greenish white to a purplish black. This great variety of materials is distributed over the walls in a highly pictorial manner, often without regard for the arrangement of the pilasters, so that pilasters and walls are interwoven in a common two-dimensional color pattern (see Fig. 21). On the exterior of the Baptistery and San Miniato we find none of this accidental variety. The colors are limited to a severe contrast of white and green, and the encrusted patterns either emphasize the structural relief directly, silhouetting it in green against the white back-

71. Paatz, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

72. Especially the eastern part of the church.

73. Some of them are reproduced in Salmi, *Architettura romanica*, Pls. 236 ff.

74. Thümmeler, "Baukunst des 11. Jahrhunderts," pp. 186-187.

ground (and vice versa), or they underline the two-dimensional character of the wall behind the relief.

And yet, of all contemporary Italian architecture, the Cathedral of Pisa comes nearest to the style of Florence. The other styles either have not yet advanced as far as Florence in the mediaeval direction, or they lack the interest in classicism. In Florence alone the classical tendency goes hand in hand with mediaevalization; and yet there is no confusion. The antithesis between mediaeval and classical is conceived in all its sharpness, and neither of the two components is sacrificed to the other. Here in a balanced and final form appears for the first time a synthesis which will emerge again in the same city in the architecture of Filippo Brunelleschi.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THE GENESIS OF ANDREA PISANO'S BRONZE DOORS

BY ILSE FALK AND JENŐ LÁNYI

AT all times the interrelation between mediaeval Italian art and Byzantium has presented an important problem for the history of art. Already known to the earliest writers, it has been accepted as a significant fact in all discussions of the origin and development of the new style in the transition from Duecento to Trecento. Not only have scholars recognized that the Byzantine monuments on Italian soil were the products of a foreign style and that for some regions of Italy Byzantium was the "finishing school" for the indigenous art; but through the prevalent concept that the new style originated in a slow process of detachment from Byzantium, Byzantinism also early became a criterion of value and a principle of historical classification. And even today the greatness of Giotto's accomplishment is largely measured by the fact that he succeeded in overcoming Byzantinism. Yet we must admit that until now there has been no way of determining with precision whether, in spite of this liberation, Giotto's own creative spirit was not indebted to Byzantine art. For we see him mainly as the originator of the new style. And although, in the historical evaluation of his art, we tacitly admit the Byzantine sources of his inspiration, no concrete evidence of them has hitherto come to light. We find ourselves in the same position when confronted by other great artists of this transitional period.

The aim of the following pages is to demonstrate the actual impact of Byzantine art on native Italian genius by a concrete example: the indebtedness of Andrea Pisano's bronze doors executed for the Florentine Baptistery in 1330 to the thirteenth-century mosaics within.

The story of St. John the Baptist on Andrea's doors (Fig. 4) has never until recently been seriously considered from an iconographic point of view. No thorough attempt has been made to discover whether the artist followed a prototype in his representation of the legend, though one encounters repeated statements that some of the scenes, or rather motifs, show a close correspondence with Giotto's frescoes in the Peruzzi Chapel in Sta. Croce. The obvious similarities with Giotto were used as early as the sixteenth century as the basis for the assertion that the painter was the author of the original designs for the doors — an assertion for which, we hope, this article will prove once and for all there is no foundation whatsoever.

A thorough examination of the cycles of the Baptist's story preceding the doors reveals that with two exceptions — the Baptistery mosaics and Giotto's frescoes — they have no close connection with Andrea's version apart from a few similarities based upon the identity of subject.¹

This article in its original form was written in Florence during the years 1933 to 1935 in closest collaboration with my friend and colleague Dr. Jenő Lányi whose inspiring guidance has been of inestimable value to me in my studies. Two years ago, Dr. Lányi died tragically while on his way to this country. It is a special satisfaction to me to be able to publish this paper as a memorial to his outstanding scholarship, particularly since most of his work has perished with him.

The translation and reworking of this study have been carried out under the Aurelia Henry Reinhardt International Fellowship of the American Association of University Women. For her invaluable assistance in translation I am deeply indebted to Esther Gordon.

1. The iconography of the legend of John the Baptist is the subject of one of the chapters in my doctoral dissertation, *Studien zu Andrea Pisano*, Hamburg, 1940. The main examples of the Baptist's cycle in Italy before Andrea's doors are: the architrave of the main portal of the Baptistery in Pisa, end of the twelfth century (see P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana, Il medioevo*, Turin, 1927, p. 818, figs. 544, 545); the architrave of the main portal of the Baptistery in Parma, by Antelami, about 1198 (see Laudedeo Testi, *Le baptistère de Parme*, Florence, 1916, p. 59); the St. John altar frontal, Siena, Gallery, about 1260–1270 (see C. Brandi, *La regia pinacoteca di Siena*, Rome, 1933, p. 281, No. 14); the fresco cycle in the Baptistery of Parma, second half of the thir-

I

The mosaics in the dome of the Baptistery (Fig. 1), which, it is worth pointing out, contain the most extensive cycle of the story of the Baptist before Andrea, are mainly work of the thirteenth century. The earliest parts, in the *scarsella*, are dated 1225 by inscription; for the dome there are documents up to shortly after 1300, which indicate that the most intensive work must have taken place in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.²

The mosaics must be considered as the most important monument of wall decoration on Florentine soil in the thirteenth century. Their solemnity and magnificence, in keeping with the building's twofold ritual purpose as the city's chief baptistery and the temple dedicated to its patron saint, made it outstanding among all the baptisteries of Italy. The whole pictorial effort of the time seems to have been especially concentrated on the high task of its decoration. And the proud admiration and love of the Florentine people for their Baptistery found poetic expression very early in the name: *Il bel San Giovanni*.

It is curious that scholars have not until recently recognized the historical importance of the mosaics, nor realized the important fact that in the heart of Florence there actually exists a complete monument of pre-Giottesque monumental wall decoration. Various attempts have been made to solve the problem of the artistic origin and historical significance of these mosaics,³ the results of which have not yet yielded a final answer in regard to their style, or the school of their masters. But whatever the ultimate solution, this much can be said with certainty: in spite of strong divergences from pure Byzantine mosaics like those in Venice or Sicily, and in spite of all stylistic undercurrents that might be interpreted as "Tuscan-Romanesque" — a classification to which recent studies have been most inclined to adhere — the fundamental elements and the essential character of the Baptistery mosaics are Byzantine.⁴

The architectural segments of the cupola divide the mosaics into eight vertical divisions. The decoration is likewise divided horizontally into zones. Three of the vertical segments, above the *scarsella*, toward the west, contain the representation of the main subject: the *Last Judgment*.⁵ The middle segment is entirely filled by the solemn figure of the seated Pantocrator; in the lateral ones, each of which is divided into three zones, are representations of Heaven and Hell, with saints and angels above. The whole *Last Judgment*, within the three segments, is framed on each side by three superimposed columns.

The uppermost zone of the cupola is occupied by the nine hierarchies of angels. These are arranged in pairs around the standing figure of Christ, each pair being placed between columns which carry the outspread canopy of Heaven. The rest of the dome is divided into

teenth century (see Laudedeo Testi, *op. cit.*, figs. 160 ff.; P. Toesca, *op. cit.*, pp. 962 ff.); the baptismal font in the Cathedral of Massa Marittima, by Maestro Giroldo di Giacomo da Como, dated 1267 (see W. Biehl, *Toskanische Plastik des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1926, pls. 163, 164); fragments of a baptismal font by Tino di Camaino, in Pisa, dated 1312 (see W. R. Valentiner, *Tino di Camaino*, Paris, 1935, p. 12, pl. 2). A pulpit with the story of the Baptist for the Baptistery in Florence was commissioned in 1321, at a time when Tino di Camaino was working in Florence. The pulpit was probably finished in 1338, though it is no longer preserved (see Karl Frey, *Vasari*, Munich, 1911, I, pp. 337, 338, Reg. 25, 37; W. R. Valentiner, *op. cit.*, p. 80).

2. See Karl Frey, *Vasari*, I, pp. 328 ff.

3. A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, v, Milan, 1907, pp. 219 ff.; G. Soulier, *Les influences orientales dans la peinture toscane*, Paris, 1924, pp. 120 ff.; P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana, Il medioevo*, pp. 1001 ff.; M. Salmi, "I mosaici del bel San Giovanni e la pittura del secolo XIII a Firenze," *Dedalo*, XI, 1930-1931, pp. 543 ff.; F. J. Mather, *The Isaac Master, a Reconstruction of*

the Work of Gaddo Gaddi, Princeton, 1932; Helen M. Franc, doctoral dissertation on the mosaics of the Florentine Baptistery (in preparation).

4. The term "Byzantine," as used in this study, must always be understood as applying to that variety of style which had developed during the thirteenth century in Tuscany, variously termed Italo-Byzantine, Tuscan-Byzantine mixed style, etc.; see Curt H. Weigelt, *Duccio di Buoninsegna*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 19 ff.

5. As a rule the *Last Judgment* is located above the entrance on the western wall. The orientation of the Baptistery, however, is reversed, probably because of its topographical and ritual relation to the Cathedral, and the altar is placed at the west. Thus the *Last Judgment* is here above the altar, an unusual and contradictory arrangement which, however, is explained if one conceives Cathedral and Baptistery, like Cathedral and Campanile, as a unit in respect to iconographic program and religious worship — as a single spiritual ensemble in which the *Last Judgment* is, so to speak, to be related to the Cathedral altar itself.

four horizontal zones, each dedicated to the representation of a Biblical cycle. These cycles start from, and end at, the borders of the *Last Judgment*, and thus progress from north through east to south, each scene being divided from the next by a column. Read from the top down, they depict the Genesis story, and the lives of Joseph, Christ, and John the Baptist.

The architectonic divisions of the mosaics are conceived as a grandiose continuation of the architecture of the lower wall (Fig. 2). Each side of the octagon (except for the one opening into the *scarsella*) is divided into two superimposed orders of three bays. In both stories the corner members are pilasters, while the intermediate divisions are effected by columns in the lower, and pilasters in the upper story. The columns of the mosaics echo in axial correspondence the triple rhythm of the articulation below. The only difference is that while each wall of the octagon remains a relatively isolated entity because the angle pilasters are paired, the fusion of the corresponding members in the mosaics into a single column makes for the lateral continuity of the whole surface. However, the corner columns in the mosaics are stressed, being heavier than the intermediate ones. Only a view embracing the entire building from the floor to the top of the dome as a unified surface enables one to grasp the true significance of the fictitious architectural framework of the mosaic cycles. Like a five-storied gallery of columns this architecture rises above the real space. The actual curvature of the dome seems to be dissolved into an octagonal tower of five galleries which thrusts into the air. Behind it the gold background appears, dissolving the solidity of the structure, and the Biblical scenes seem to hang suspended between the apparent reality of the architecture and the infinity of the gold ground. Such an illusionistic continuation of real by fictitious architecture is not a unique phenomenon in this period. Examples which correspond in aesthetic principle are the mosaics of the façade of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, the fresco fragments by Cavallini in S. Cecilia in Rome, and the frescoes of the upper church of St. Francis in Assisi.⁶

As a result of the conformity of the dome's illusionistic architecture with the real architecture of the walls, each of the five segments of each zone which is dedicated to the Biblical stories is divided with a single exception⁷ into three panels, thus bringing the number of panels normally reserved for each cycle to fifteen.

II

Just as the division of each Biblical cycle in the mosaics into fifteen panels results inevitably from the whole decorative system of the dome — that is, from an aesthetic principle to which mere narrative is subordinate — so in Andrea Pisano's doors the dedication of twenty panels to the story of the Baptist is not merely haphazard. It can be explained as the result of a deliberate return, confirmed by documentary evidence, to the tradition of the bronze doors of the Cathedral of Pisa. On November 6th, 1329, the *Arte Calimala* decreed: "che le porte della chiesa di S. Giovanni si faccino di metallo o ottone più belle che si puo, e che Piero di Jacopo vadia a Pisa a veder quelle che sono in detta citta e le ritragga e di poi vadia a Venezia a cercare di maestro a lavorare la forma di detta porta di metallo."⁸ Until now the clear and unequivocal statement of this document has been interpreted either wrongly or insufficiently. Piero di Jacopo, the later collaborator of Andrea Pisano, carried out his commission to the full. It has been supposed that Piero either did not go to Venice

6. For the relation between architecture and mosaic in the Baptistery, cf. K. M. Swoboda, "Zur Analyse des Florentiner Baptisteriums," *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, II, 1933, pp. 63 ff. Swoboda, from another point of view, came to results analogous to ours. His analysis of the structure of the whole building proves the inner consistency of the relation and substantiates our observations.

7. This is the almost completely restored representation of the *Deluge* in the Genesis cycle of the topmost zone, which covers the space of two panels.

8. See Karl Frey, *Vasari*, I, p. 350, Reg. 2. The *Arte di Calimala*, or *Arte de' Mercantanti*, was the guild which for centuries had been charged with the supervision and decoration of the Baptistery.

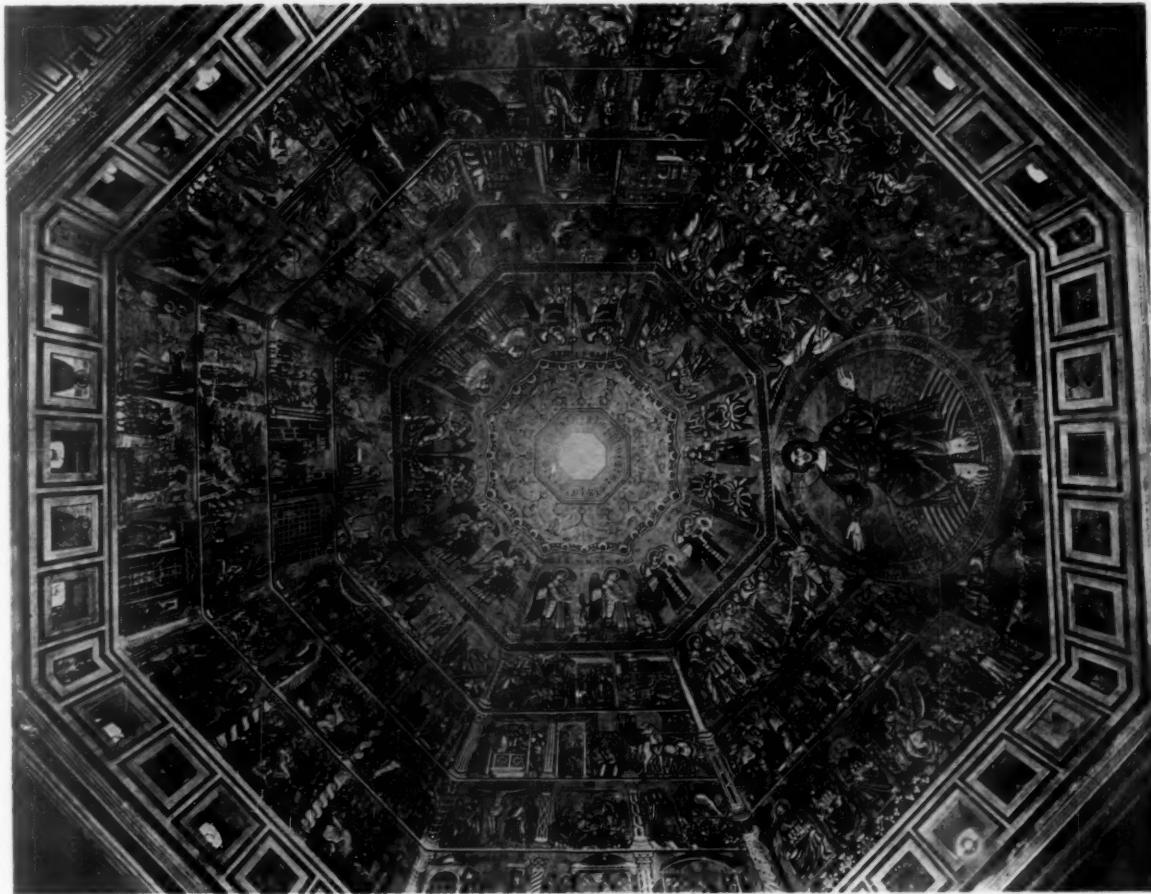


FIG. 1. Dome, Mosaics

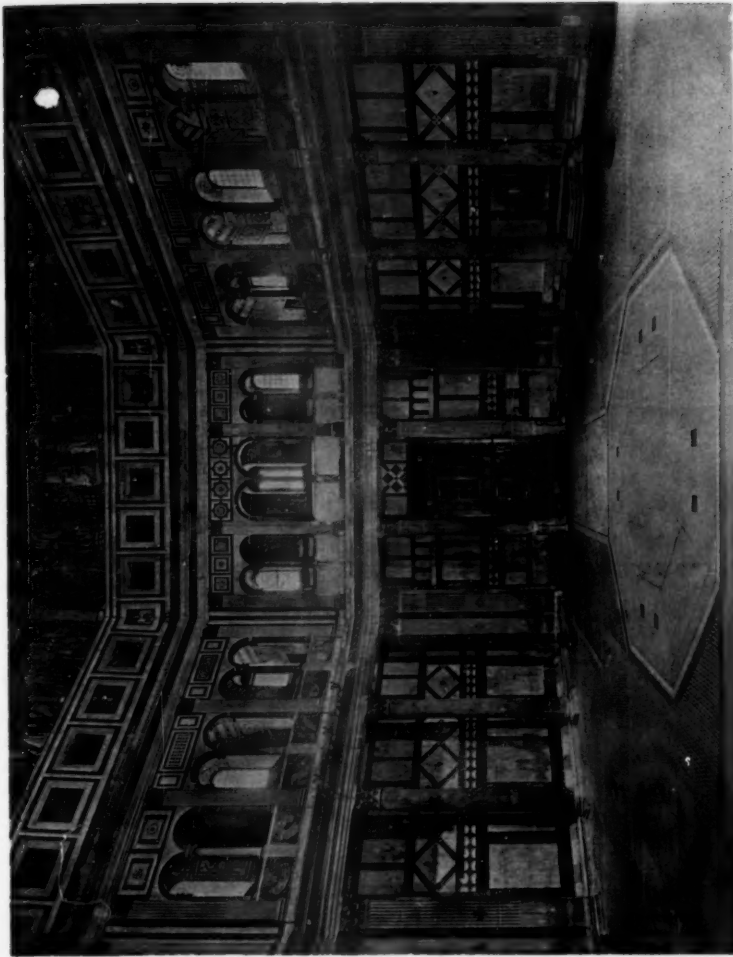


FIG. 2. Interior

FIGS. 1-2. FLORENCE, BAPTISTERY

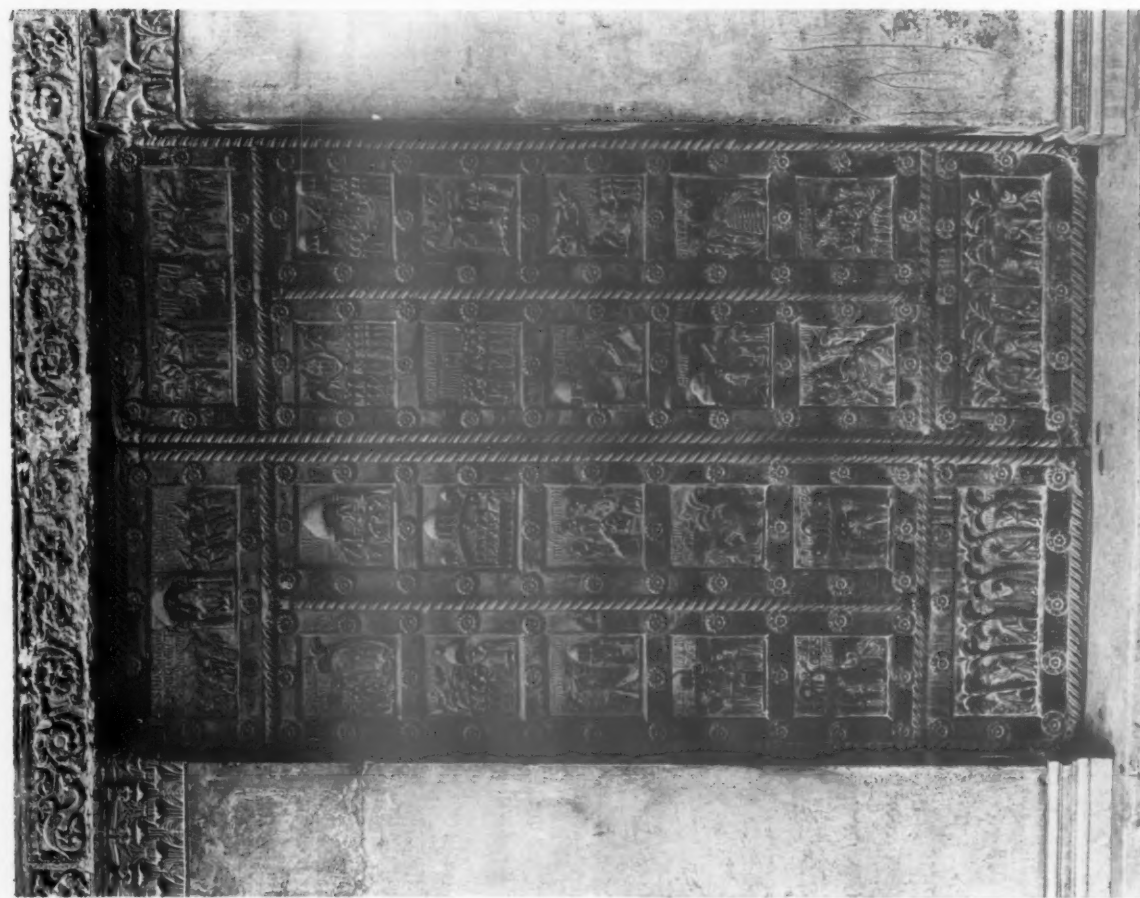


FIG. 3. Pisa, Cathedral: Bonnannus, Bronze Doors

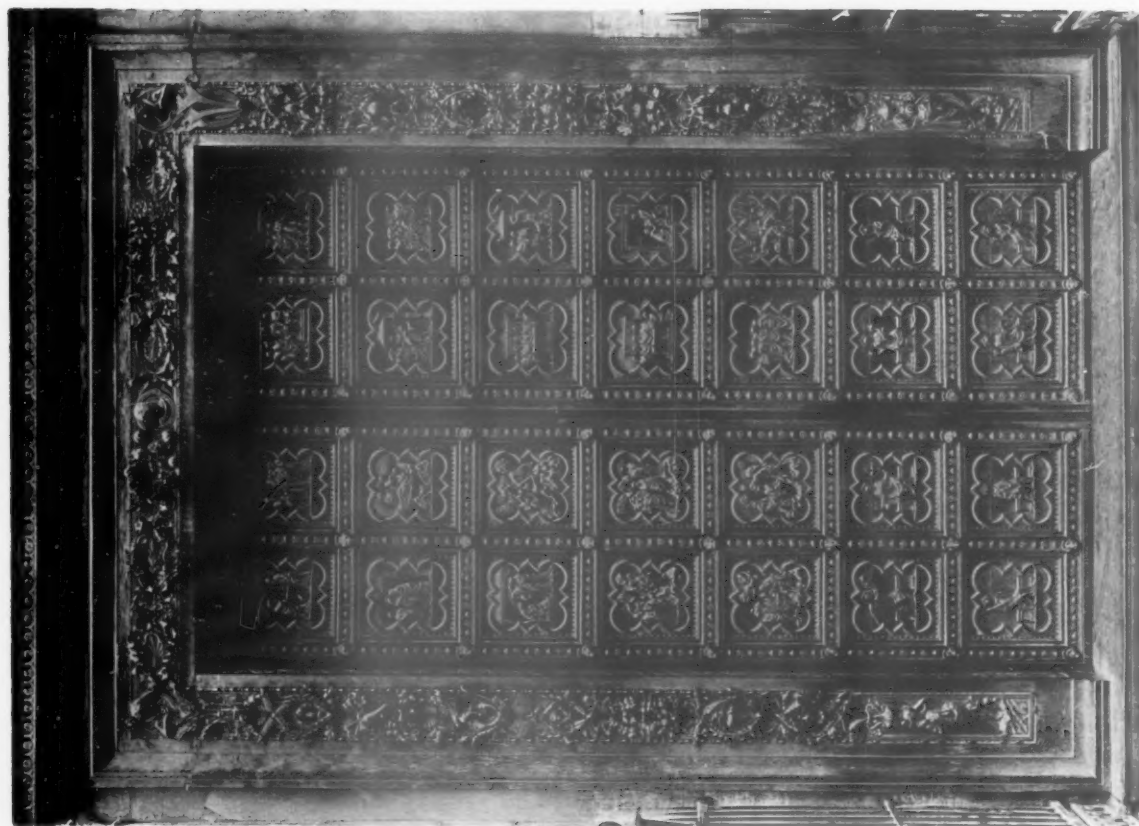


FIG. 4. Florence, Baptistery: Andrea Pisano, Bronze Doors

since he had already found in Pisa, in Andrea Pisano, the master of whom the document speaks; or else that he had engaged Andrea in Venice. Neither of these suppositions is correct, because the document is not concerned with Andrea but with the *maestro a lavorare la forma* — that is, with the founder of the bronze doors. This was the Venetian bell-founder, Leonardo di Avanzo, as we know from later documents. As to the other order given to Piero di Jacopo, to "portray" the Pisan doors, it was certainly fulfilled with equal precision. For a comparison proves that these doors did indeed serve as a prototype for the general layout of the Florentine ones.

The Pisan doors (probably by Bonannus da Pisa and dating from about 1180)⁹ are divided into twenty vertical oblong panels, disposed in five rows of four each which contain the narrative cycle, here the story of the life of Christ (Fig. 3). At the top and bottom, occupying the whole width of the doors, are representations of more symbolic character: the *Majestas Domini* and the *Majestas Mariae* above, the twelve prophets below. These symbolic representations thus frame the narrative cycle like frieze and socle. The single panels are enclosed within a simple rectangular framework studded with rosettes. Each leaf of the doors is circumscribed by a twisted rope, which animal heads at each corner hold in their mouths. Another rope border runs down the middle of each leaf between the narrative panels and frames them horizontally above and below, thus emphasizing their separation from the symbolic parts of the doors.

The structure of the Florentine doors shows a fundamental agreement with that of the Pisan ones (Fig. 4). Andrea takes over the vertical oblong shape of the Pisan panels and uses this form consistently throughout. Twenty panels are dedicated to the story of the Baptist, arranged however in a different sequence; since each leaf of the doors must be read like a printed page from upper left to lower right, whereas the Pisan doors read from the lower left corner through both leaves to the upper right. The separation between the narrative and symbolic representations remains intact though their relative position has shifted. On the Pisan doors the symbolic panels extend, as we have seen, in a single row across the full width of the doors both above and below the narrative cycle, whereas on Andrea's doors the eight lowest panels, bound together in a double row across the whole width, contain the symbolic figures of the enthroned Virtues, which thus provide a solid supporting base, both compositional and spiritual, for the narrative cycle. The bars of the framework are studded with the same rosettes as at Pisa, here alternating with diamonds. But whereas on the Pisan doors they serve the technical necessity of holding the bronze panels and framework to the wooden nucleus, in Florence they have a merely decorative function.¹⁰ Andrea's adoption of the formal pattern of the earlier doors is not of course complete, but reflects in part the taste of his own age. The introduction, for instance, of the pierced quatrefoil in the Florentine doors is typical of the Gothic period in which they were executed. Nevertheless, the similarities are strong enough between the two pairs of doors to show clearly that Andrea's design represents the deliberate adaptation of an older tradition.

Our analysis of the formal pattern of the Florentine doors thus corroborates completely the documentary evidence that the Pisan doors were the model for their general framework. It follows that the number of narrative panels at Florence had to be twenty, regardless of the demands of subject matter.

9. These doors today adorn the transept portal of S. Ranieri. There existed, however, several other pairs of bronze doors which were destroyed in the great fire of 1596. Vasari reports an inscription on those which occupied the central opening of the main façade called the *porta regia*, revealing their date of 1180 and the name of their author Bonannus. The measurements of these, however, were much larger than those prescribed to Andrea

by the opening of the Baptistery portal. About the features of the other pairs of lost doors we know nothing definite.

10. Any complete discussion of Andrea's adaptation of the Pisan framework would necessarily include questions of technique. Our province here is simply one of general aesthetic relationships.

III

The representation of the story of John the Baptist has then five more panels at its disposal on the doors than in the mosaics (Figs. 1 and 4). All fifteen incidents of the mosaic cycle recur in the twenty reliefs of Andrea's doors.¹¹ Instead of fifteen panels, however, they fill sixteen, since the depiction of the *Birth* and *Naming of the Baptist*, condensed into one scene in the mosaics, occupies two panels on the doors. The four remaining panels, representing an expansion of the program of the mosaics, contain the following scenes: *Zacharias Stricken Dumb, Confronting the People*; *The Visitation*; *The Baptist's Head Brought to Herod*; and *The Baptist Carried to the Tomb*. In the mosaics, instead of figuring in the Baptist's cycle, the *Visitation* is represented in the cycle of Christ above it.¹² We can say, therefore, that seventeen panels on the bronze doors coincide in content with sixteen of the Baptistery mosaics.

The scene of *The Baptist's Head Brought to Herod* introduces the third cycle of the story into the range of our discussion: Giotto's frescoes in the Peruzzi Chapel of Sta. Croce in Florence. In three superimposed compartments, they depict six incidents from the life of the saint: the *Annunciation to Zacharias* in the lunette (Fig. 6); the *Birth* and the *Naming* in the center (Fig. 14); and the *Dance of Salome, The Baptist's Head Brought to Herod*, and *Salome Bringing the Head to Herodias* in the lower section (Fig. 34). Five of these correspond to scenes in the mosaics and therefore also appear on the doors. Furthermore, the sixth, *The Baptist's Head Brought to Herod*, corresponds to one of Andrea's reliefs which did not find an equivalent in the mosaics. Consequently, all six incidents in Giotto's version recur in Andrea's representation of the legend.

The only two scenes by Andrea not found in either of the two other cycles are: *Zacharias Stricken Dumb, Confronting the People*, and *The Baptist Carried to the Tomb*.

IV

It is not subject matter alone that Andrea's doors have in common with the mosaics and with Giotto. Nor would it suffice, starting from this common program, to demonstrate the iconographic and typological correspondences, for the relations which connect Andrea's work with the preceding cycles have deeper roots.

It is the aim of the following analytical comparisons to reveal the various elements of this complex indebtedness. The relation between the mosaics and Andrea will be our primary concern,¹³ since it has never been discussed before. The relation between Andrea and Giotto, however, cannot be discussed exhaustively within the scope of this article; it will be dealt with only in so far as it clarifies the genesis of Andrea's doors.

These comparisons must be subject to a yet more fundamental restriction: in our analysis we shall not consider each of the cycles in itself, but only in its relation to the others. We cannot be concerned with giving a complete examination of Andrea's style; we can only map out the boundaries of the area within which such an examination can be made. Nor can we attempt to do full justice to the artistic value of the mosaics and of Giotto's frescoes. Yet the value of the comparisons undertaken in this study does not lie in the mere demonstration of common elements. The main value goes beyond the particular problem

11. For this paragraph cf. the chart, p. 153.

12. If we consider that in the mosaics the story of St. John is not an isolated cycle, but part of a whole program, in which the life of Christ figures as well, it is understandable that such a scene as the *Visitation*, which the two cycles have in common, should be represented only once.

13. The frequent and thorough restorations which

the mosaics have undergone throughout the centuries in no way prejudice the validity of these analytical comparisons. Helen Franc, who has made a careful study of this problem, tells us that one may take for granted that the restorations, though they falsify the style in places, have not changed the general disposition of the single scenes, except for a few in the uppermost zone. The cycle of John is among the best preserved.

treated here, for the knowledge of what Andrea shares with his predecessors will afford an indispensable means of critical approach to the very essence of Andrea's artistic personality.

v

Before comparing Andrea's work with the earlier cycles in detail, a few general remarks are in order which will clear the ground for future discussion. While the shape of the single panel in the mosaics is a horizontal oblong (slightly trapezoidal), the reliefs are placed within vertical pierced quatrefoils. Thus from the outset, the whole composition of the scenes in the two cycles is affected by an important difference in the shape of their respective panels (quite apart from the fact that the panels differ enormously in size). The gold background of the mosaics corresponds to the neutral background of the reliefs, the ground-line in the former to the socle-like platform in the latter. We may now proceed to a detailed comparison of the cycles.

The Annunciation to Zacharias (Fig. 5). — The first scene in the doors, the *Annunciation to Zacharias*, is among those represented both in the mosaics (Fig. 8) and by Giotto (Fig. 6). Thus the whole complex of problems appears right at the start. Since at this stage of our argument the relationship of the three cycles is purely hypothetical, we shall concentrate at first on those features which they have most obviously in common.

In the mosaic the angel is standing to the left, Zacharias to the right of the altar. Behind Zacharias appears a group of kneeling and standing figures which seem to be smaller in proportion than the main figures. The angel raises his right hand in a gesture of annunciation; his left holds a scepter topped by a fleur-de-lys. Zacharias, swinging the censer with his right, lifts his left hand to his breast in a gesture of fright. The general attitude of both figures, especially that of Zacharias, is full of movement, which is stressed by the agitated lines of the drapery. The architecture of the altar consists of a pendentive vault resting on four slender columns; the altar table under it is placed slightly toward the back and to the right. The figures remain outside of the building: since the wing and arm of the angel overlap the two left columns, he is meant to be standing in front of the altar, while Zacharias, who swings the censer between the two right columns above the altar table, is meant to be standing to the side of it. The group of people behind Zacharias who inquire about the miraculous event — according to the Biblical text they appeared only after the annunciation — is represented here as witnessing the miracle. This group gives greater weight to the right side of the composition and displaces the group of angel and priest from the center of the scene to the left. If it were eliminated, the two chief figures would be balanced more or less symmetrically.

This main part of the scene corresponds in fundamental structure to the first of Andrea's reliefs. Here, too, the angel approaches the altar from the left, his right hand raised in the salute of annunciation; here, too, Zacharias is standing to the right and holds in his right hand the censer which hovers in front of the altar table. The table itself stands slightly to the right.

The divergences, however, are quite considerable. First, the language of movement in the relief is infinitely more calm and restrained, the action reduced to a minimum. The quick, explosive movement of the figures in the mosaic has given way to a static quality inherent in the calm and balance of Andrea's figures. At the same time the figures, instead of spreading out over the surface in three-quarter view, are confronted in a closer, more intimate way, being shown in profile. More evident still is the difference in the architecture of the altar. Now a Gothic gable, as *pars pro toto* of a tabernacle, shelters both figures and altar: the figures are no longer acting outside of the architecture, but are within.

It is precisely these deviations from the mosaic that relate Andrea's representation to

Giotto's fresco, where the scene is also played within the tabernacle, though reversed: Zacharias is standing to the left while the angel is about to enter the tabernacle from the right. Figures and architecture form an indissoluble unity.¹⁴ In the relief this unity of composition is achieved by the gabled roof which shelters and encloses both figures, and which must be explained as a reminiscence of Giotto's tabernacle roof.¹⁵ And the calmer language of movement, the retarded rhythm and the condensed action, as well as the more restrained attitude of the figures, are also an echo of Giotto's world. It is worth noting that Andrea has eliminated Giotto's attendant figures, just as he eliminated those of the mosaic, concentrating solely on the protagonists.

Zacharias Stricken Dumb, Confronting the People (Fig. 7). — The second relief shows a moment in the legend which is depicted neither in the mosaics nor by Giotto. One feature of this composition is especially worth mentioning since it seems to illustrate a characteristic of Andrea's narrative method. The crowd which is present at the *Annunciation to Zacharias* in both other versions was omitted by Andrea, where, as we have seen, the action is concentrated on the two protagonists. But, here, in the second relief, the crowd reappears as a component of equal importance with Zacharias. It is not impossible that the inclusion of this scene, which gives a more complete and faithful illustration of the Bible text than appears in Giotto or the mosaics, was inspired by the attendant crowd in the *Annunciation* scenes; and that Andrea's epic intention, which aimed at the self-contained unity of each action, induced him to transform the passive ingredient of the *Annunciation* scenes into an active element in this new scene where its narrative significance could be properly understood.¹⁶

The Visitation (Fig. 9). — The composition of the *Visitation* on the doors and in the mosaics (Fig. 10), where, as we have noted, it occurs in the cycle of the Life of Christ, is essentially the same: to the left an isolated attendant, in the center the main group of the embracing women, to the right a building. The building, which consists in the mosaic of two closely connected structures, has been condensed into a single one in the relief; yet we find the arched portal in both and the same vertical articulation of the architecture: a lower story in approximate scale with the figures and a kind of attic in greatly reduced scale. This simplification of the architecture as well as the elimination of the female figure to the right in Andrea's version does not impair the close relationship of the two compositions. For the simple, static mass and void of the archway in the relief corresponds to the quiet terminal figure at the left, just as the more complex and animated depiction, at the right of the mosaic, of a woman emerging from the arch and opening the panelled door corresponds to the livelier attendant of Mary who approaches quickly from the left. Likewise, the artistic relationship between the figure of Elizabeth and the architecture remains essentially the same in both. In the mosaic, however, the swinging diagonal of her figure is set against a broader architectural foil than in the relief, where also her figure has a more vertical character.

In these correspondences lies the intrinsic relationship between the two scenes. From them we become aware of the compositional scheme which Andrea formulates and develops in his contact with the mosaic. This consists in placing the two central figures that carry the action parallel to the relief plane and framing them symmetrically with two static elements — attendant and architecture — which in turn are set at a diagonal to the relief plane and correspond in their angle of incidence. The special significance of this develop-

14. Andrea's reason for preferring the left to right orientation of the figures in this mosaic to the reverse one of Giotto may have been that since the relief of the *Annunciation* is placed at the top left-hand corner of the doors and introduces the whole cycle, the words of the angel, like a prophetic prologue, are meant to be spoken in the direction of the whole representation, and not away from it.

15. Cf. below, p. 149.

16. The earliest example of this subject known to me occurs in an illumination of the Gospels written for Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (985-1022), Hildesheim Cathedral Treasury, No. 18 (see Stephan Beissel, *Des heil. Bernward Evangelienbuch*, Hildesheim, 1891, pl. 16). Thus for this scene, too, a prototype almost certainly existed even if we cannot state definitely what it was. The same scene occurs later in the Baptistery mosaics of S. Marco in Venice (after 1340).

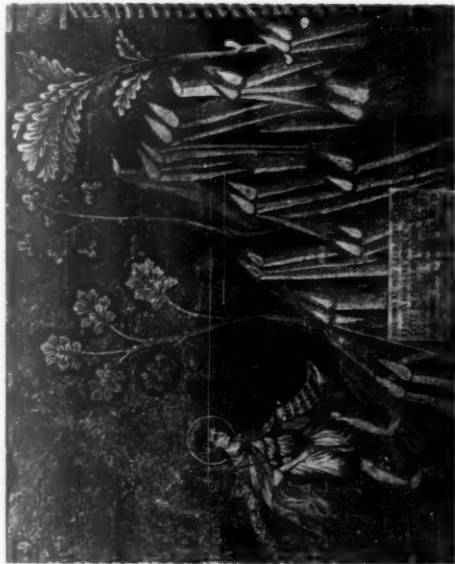


FIG. 15. Mosaic: Young Baptist in the Wilderness



FIG. 16. Mosaic: Preaching of John the Baptist



FIG. 17. Mosaic: Baptism of the Multitude

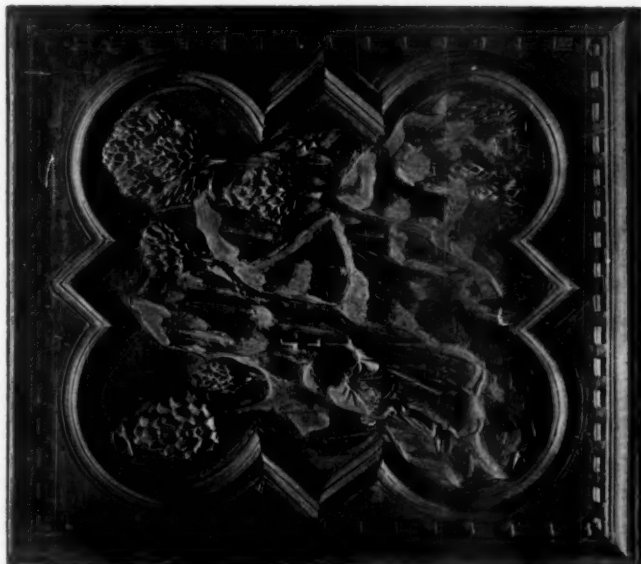


FIG. 18. Andrea Pisano, Young Baptist in the Wilderness



FIG. 19. Andrea Pisano, Preaching of John the Baptist



FIG. 20. Andrea Pisano, Baptism of the Multitude

FIGS. 15-20. FLORENCE, BAPTISTERY



FIG. 21. Mosaic: Ecce Agnus Dei



FIG. 22. Mosaic: Baptism of Christ



FIG. 23. Mosaic: John before Herod



FIG. 24. Andrea Pisano, Ecce Agnus Dei



FIG. 25. Andrea Pisano, Baptism of Christ



FIG. 26. Andrea Pisano, John before Herod

FIGS. 21-26. FLORENCE, BAPTISTERY

ment of compositional possibilities latent in the mosaics will be discussed later, as will the relation of Andrea's architectural vocabulary to Giotto.

We have previously cited Giotto's influence to explain how the language of movement in the mosaic of the *Annunciation* differs from that in the relief. This holds true as well for the *Visitation* and all the following scenes. The rapidly flowing lines of the drapery and the open action of the mosaics have given way to a rhythmic cadence in the folds and a composed restraint in the action, beneath which, however, the similarity of poses and gestures is still discernible. Here too then, although Giotto furnishes no direct prototype in his cycle of the Baptist, his pictorial world contributes essentially to the transformation.¹⁷

The Birth and Naming of the Baptist (Figs. 12 and 13). — The next two scenes, the *Birth* and *Naming of the Baptist*, are again among those represented in all three cycles. Their thematic correspondence, however, is more equivocal than in the case of the *Annunciation*, for in the mosaics the two moments of the legend are strangely interwoven within one panel (Fig. 11). Only the reclining attitude of Elizabeth indicates a Nativity, while the emphasis in the scene has been placed on the Naming.¹⁸

In Giotto (Fig. 14) the two events, though shown in one fresco compartment, take place in two separate rooms: at the right Elizabeth in childbed, at the left Zacharias naming the child. Andrea also divides the two scenes, giving each a separate panel. A comparison of these scenes in the three cycles shows at once that Andrea's version has very little in common with the mosaic, but a great deal with Giotto's fresco. The *Naming* (Fig. 12) reveals an almost literal taking over of Giotto's figures except that the two men in the group confronting Zacharias have been omitted. The agreement in the figure of Zacharias, who sits with crossed legs, using his knee as a support for his writing, extends, however, to the mosaic as well. In fact the similarity between mosaic and relief is even greater than between relief and fresco since Zacharias is seated in an armchair and bends far over. Again, in the representation of the child in swaddling clothes, mosaic and relief appear closer to each other than to the fresco. However, the child in the fresco in his present state does not come from Giotto, but is the offspring of a completely unsuccessful restorer. Originally he must have looked very like his counterpart of the mosaic or relief.¹⁹

An essential transformation is apparent if we compare the architectural forms of the *Naming* in fresco and relief. The interior space of Andrea's panel is implied rather than expressed by a gabled roof resting on consoles. Andrea thus renounces any attempt to render an actual interior space; he sets his figures against a neutral background, and over them, attached to the same background, places a fragment of architecture which itself has a spatial quality: the figures stand beneath it, and this alone gives the impression of their existence within a room. Andrea thus renounces the means of illusionistic perspective, in favor of architectural elements which conform to the plane and are thus more consistent with the medium of relief.

In the scene of the *Birth* (Fig. 13), too, certain motifs from the fresco recur. But here we must consider that, so far as we can ascertain from the present state of the fresco, the moment of the Birth represented by Giotto is different from that chosen by Andrea. In the relief the bed on which Elizabeth rests occupies the center of the panel. She looks down at the two women who are seated on the floor, bathing the child. Behind the bed are visible the half figures of two more women who bring bowls of food to the mother. In the fresco

17. Andrea may or may not have known Giotto's *Visitation* in Padua. However, the probability that the mosaic here remains the chief source for Andrea's composition is especially confirmed by a comparison of the central group in all three versions.

18. According to Helen Franc, this scene is in a rather

bad state of preservation, and therefore its present composition is not completely reliable.

19. This analysis inevitably brings forward the interesting problem of the extent to which Giotto himself may have been influenced, in this and other scenes, by the mosaics. The problem deserves separate discussion which cannot be devoted to it in this article.

Elizabeth reclines in a very similar pose, and two women again stand behind the couch. But the incident of the bathing is missing, and a woman stands at the foot of the bed offering Elizabeth an egg, perhaps a symbol of fertility. We must read this childbed scene in close connection with that of the *Naming*: the child has been taken to Zacharias in order to discover what name he is to bear.

The agreements between relief and fresco are thus restricted to the formula of the reclining woman and the two attendants who appear behind the bed. We must remember, however, that Andrea's representation of the *Birth* does not differ especially from customary representations of nativity scenes with which it shares the setting and the motif of the women bathing the child.²⁰

The Young Baptist in the Wilderness (Fig. 18). — The scene which represents the little St. John entering the wilderness, since it does not appear in Giotto, is the first which demonstrates unmistakably direct contact between the mosaic cycle of the Baptist and that of the doors. Hitherto in our discussion, not only Andrea's double borrowing from Giotto and the mosaics, but also the traditional formulae for the scenes employed have made it possible to establish little more than a general relationship between Andrea and the mosaics.

The representation of the young Baptist entering the desert, which has the form of a mountainous landscape, has been considered to show a particularly Tuscan element in Andrea's cycle. Adolfo Venturi attempted to discover the literary background of the scene in the popular *laudes* of the time.²¹ Since the scene is represented almost identically in the mosaics (Fig. 15), Venturi's thesis, if valid, would have to include them. In any case it loses any special significance in regard to Andrea. For that Andrea followed the mosaic very closely in the thematic formulation of this scene, there can be no possible doubt. We have only to think away the rocky escarpment which rises behind St. John to have the mosaic version before us in its essential details. The child walks in the same manner and in the same direction into the mountains; he is similarly clad in a mantle over his garment of camel's hair. His attributes are also the same except that here he holds the cross staff in his left hand and the scroll in his right. In the mosaic the child approaches the mountain from one side, so that the connection between the two is merely suggested, while in the relief the addition of a rocky coulisse behind the figure gives it in every sense a closer unity with the landscape. St. John is now shown wandering among the mountains; the two mountain forms create a rocky defile into which he walks. Instead of the abstract, additive juxtaposition of figure and landscape in the mosaic, there is here a homogeneous quality which makes the figure appear as if embraced by the surrounding landscape, so that one might almost speak of an atmospheric effect of the whole.

By taking over almost literally the elements of his prototype, and by adding merely one new element, the rocky coulisse, which was only an expansion of the mountain already present, Andrea has here succeeded in giving the whole scene the new impress of his inner vision.

The Preaching of John the Baptist (Fig. 19). — In the next scene, the *Preaching of John the Baptist*, where the connection of the two versions is no less close (Fig. 16), An-

20. For the motif of the two women bathing the child in Italian art close to Andrea, cf. for instance the pulpits of Niccolò and Giovanni Pisano; for the reclining woman, Arnolfo di Cambio's Virgin from the *Nativity* on the façade of the Florentine Cathedral. For the *Nativity* of the Virgin, cf. Giotto's fresco in the Arena, Padua. It should be remembered that there was a *Nativity of the Virgin* by Giotto in Florence among the lost frescoes of the Tosinighi-Spinelli chapel in Sta. Croce (see Giuseppe Marchini, "Gli affreschi perduti di Giotto in una cappella di S. Croce," *Rivista d'arte*, XX, 1938, pp. 215 ff.). Moreover, Andrea's birth scene has obviously been influ-

enced by Giovanni Pisano's relief on the pulpit of the Cathedral in Pisa (1302-1310) representing the *Nativity* of the Baptist. The motif of the reclining woman bending over to watch the bathing of the child, as well as the composition in three superimposed zones, which gives a special archaic character to this relief, can already be found there (see A. Venturi, *Giovanni Pisano, His Life and Work*, Paris, New York, n.d., pl. 107).

21. *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IV, Milan, 1906, p. 426; cf. A. Schmarsow, *Kompositionsgesetze in der Kunst des Mittelalters*, III, Bonn, Leipzig, 1922, p. 192.

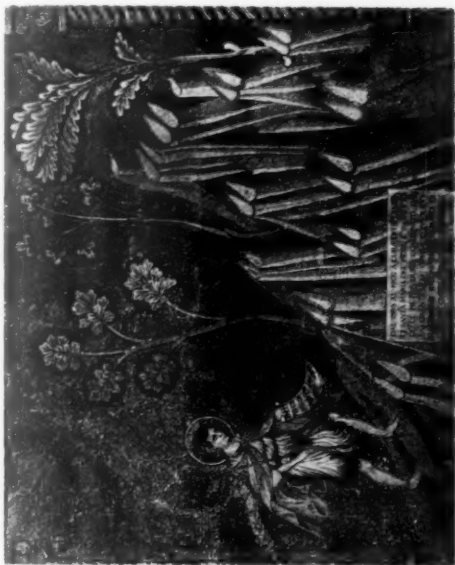


FIG. 15. Mosaic: Young Baptist in the Wilderness



FIG. 16. Mosaic: Preaching of John the Baptist



FIG. 17. Mosaic: Baptism of the Multitude



FIG. 18. Andrea Pisano, Young Baptist in the Wilderness



FIG. 19. Andrea Pisano, Preaching of John the Baptist



FIG. 20. Andrea Pisano, Baptism of the Multitude

FIGS. 15-20. FLORENCE, BAPTISTERY



FIG. 21. Mosaic: Ecce Agnus Dei



FIG. 22. Mosaic: Baptism of Christ



FIG. 23. Mosaic: John before Herod



FIG. 24. Andrea Pisano, Ecce Agnus Dei



FIG. 25. Andrea Pisano, Baptism of Christ



FIG. 26. Andrea Pisano, John before Herod

FIGS. 21-26. FLORENCE, BAPTISTERY

drea's new interpretation obeys the same laws. The main elements again remain the same, and in the relief only the rocky wall at the left is added; it sets off and encloses tectonically the figures which in the mosaic were placed against a neutral background. The group of listeners at the left, consisting in the mosaic of five figures, is reduced to four in the relief by eliminating the foreground figure in the center and shifting the right-hand figure into his place. To realize how closely Andrea follows the mosaic, one must visualize the configuration of the heads therein which would result from this process. The exclusion of the figure who alone in the mosaic group was interpreting the sermon to the others and, by turning away from the preacher, broke its united concentration upon him, gives the audience in the relief a more intense focus upon the figure of John. The tense, direct confrontation of the preacher and the audience, who seem captivated by his words, no longer needs an intermediary. The agitated gesticulation of the mosaic likewise disappears; above the heavily draped bodies, the attentive faces testify to the eloquence of the Baptist's words.²²

In the mosaic John is represented somewhat larger than the other figures; in the relief it is the higher level on which he stands which raises him above the others. Yet he has much in common with the prototype in pose, gesture, and dress. The cross staff alone is lacking; he holds the scroll rolled up in his left hand.

The tree which separated John from the group of listeners in the mosaic keeps its function as caesura. However, its trunk is not carried down so far, but ends at the height of the heads. In the zone between the figures the vertically descending edge of the rock imitates the form of a tree trunk. Thus, instead of a separation, an interval is created which accentuates the inner relation of the group to the Baptist. The rock, which in the mosaic was placed to the side behind John, now serves as a foil for his figure and, rising steeply immediately behind him, towers over his head.

The Baptism of the Multitude (Fig. 20). — In the mosaics the story of the Baptist follows the sequence of the Biblical narrative (Figs. 17 and 21). The succession, however, of the next two scenes in the doors, the *Ecce Agnus Dei* (Fig. 24) and the *Baptism of the Multitude*, reverses the Biblical sequence. This liberty of Andrea's can be explained as a necessity if one takes into consideration the preceding and the following scenes (Fig. 4). First, by the juxtaposition of the two preaching scenes followed by the two baptismal scenes, the narrative gains in impressiveness and builds up effectively to a climax in the legend of the Forerunner: *The Baptism of Christ* (Fig. 25), with which this wing of the doors closes. Secondly, a compositional balance is also attained by this arrangement of the four scenes which would not result from their Biblical sequence. One must imagine the two scenes in question interchanged in order to realize how the two in which Christ appears cancel each other's effectiveness when seen side by side, and to what an extent the impressive composition of the present arrangement is reduced; and one can thus evaluate the masterful stroke of inspiration which arranged the panels as they are.

The recasting of the *Baptism of the Multitude* is effected without the help of any new elements, but merely by simplifying and condensing those already present in the mosaic in a way greatly resembling that employed in the preceding scenes. One may note here, in addition to subtle changes in the group, that the tree behind the crowd has been left out, and that the man who is being baptized is no longer isolated, but kneels in front of the crowd in such a way that his head and hands, projecting into the intervening space, connect the crowd with the figure of the Baptist. He, with the rock towering behind him, forms a stable balance for the opposing group set against the neutral background and performs the act of baptism at an appropriate interval from the participant crowd. In the equally inclined

22. In Andrea's *Zacharias Stricken Dumb, Confronting the People*, we do find an intermediary in the person who leads the group. But here he is the only "speak-

ing" figure, for Zacharias is stricken dumb; cf. also Schmarsow, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

heads of the people, their interest in the event is revealed (in the mosaic they seem rather to discuss it among themselves) and their attention united as if in a common stream converging upon the rite itself.

Thus in the taut reorganization of elements, which in the mosaic were strung out in a more additive way, appears the same artistic intention which has already been noted in the preceding scenes: an inevitable concentration of each participant toward the focus of the action.

Ecce Agnus Dei (Fig. 24; cf. Fig. 21). — In both versions of this scene John stands in the center of the picture area; at the left is the crowd and at the right Christ is raised above the others on a platform of rock. In the relief the scene is again included in the landscape by shifting the wall of rock behind the figures. This remains similar in form to the rock behind which Christ stands in the mosaic. The landscape thus becomes a unifying foil in the whole composition. Andrea's organizing power appears also in his regrouping of the two widely separated trees of the mosaic, which are placed together in the upper left-hand corner of the relief to counterbalance the figure of Christ rising above the rock.

In detail and in compositional function the figure of John is practically the same in both versions. In both he mediates between Christ and the multitude.²³ But in the relief he is again raised above the crowd by the higher level on which he stands; his importance is not shown by an increase in scale as in the mosaic. Again Andrea's main group is based squarely upon the mosaic, where, however, the group is more numerous than in the preceding scenes, and all heads are already turned in one direction. The changes which the sculptor introduces here make, as in the preceding scene, for greater psychological concentration and are effected by similar devices of elimination and shifting, the nine persons of the mosaic being reduced to four in the relief.

Andrea's artistic deviation from his model shows clearest in his metamorphosis of the figure of Christ. Perhaps nowhere better can a comparison of the two cycles show how the mosaics, like a germinating force, have served as inspiration and point of departure for the unfolding of Andrea's own imaginative powers. Christ, who in the mosaic is only half visible, rising behind the rock and making the gesture of blessing, now appears above the others in front of the mountain, columnar and self-contained, and undisturbed by the agitation of the crowd. He seems to advance slowly past the Baptist and the multitude, his visionary glance lost in the distance. The isolation and grandeur of the divine apparition had been accomplished in the mosaic by the mechanical means of the rock which separated Christ from humanity. In the relief he actually stands closer to the other figures and in the same spatial layer, yet his inner withdrawal has become immeasurable.

The Baptism of Christ (Fig. 25; cf. Fig. 22). — The connection between the two versions of the *Baptism of Christ* is not nearly so revealing as in the scenes immediately preceding; for here, as in the first scenes of the cycle, the iconographic tradition had already become fixed. Nevertheless, there is between relief and mosaic more than mere similarity in the general disposition. The enframing rocks and the deep river channel; the transparency of the water through which gleams the body of Christ; the strongly accentuated bend of the figure of John, his stance and the way he pulls his mantle about him; the dove, which is flattened out on the surface plane, and across which the rays fall from Heaven to rest on the head of Christ — all these are elements which Andrea gathers from the mosaic, and which he recasts in the same manner that we have observed in the preceding scenes. He enframes the Baptist's body with the rock which towers over him, he concentrates attention on the act of baptism by the single broad arc which passes from John's foot, through his body, to the upraised arm holding the bowl. Only one of the angels holding the cloth remains, but he watches with greater attention; and the whole landscape is enlivened

23. The scroll in the relief bears the inscription: ECCE AGNUS.

with trees and plants. Here too, then, Andrea infuses the pattern of his model with his own imagination, especially in his conception of Christ, and thus succeeds in bestowing originality upon a much-treated subject.

John before Herod (Fig. 26). — The opposition of the two pairs of figures in the next relief, *John before Herod*, represents the nucleus of the mosaic composition (Fig. 23), which Andrea attains by eliminating two attendants — the second soldier at the left and the servant at the right — and by substituting a curtain for the architecture of the throne in the mosaic. The process of transformation from a horizontal to a vertical composition, imposed by the format, is especially clear here where the change is effected simply by eliminating portions of the original composition. Yet beyond this enforced reduction Andrea's own creative will further transforms the stuff of the mosaic, intensifying its drama. Where in the mosaic the mood of the protagonists is expressed by agitated gestures without differentiation, in the relief the external attitudes and inner emotions of the figures, harmoniously integrated, express psychological differences. Both king and queen are gripped and impressed by the words of the preacher, but they react in different ways. The queen's mortified indignation — the psychological pivot of the scene — foreshadows the future fate of the Baptist, while the king listens to him in a more thoughtful attitude. The transformation in the setting follows the same principle we have noted in the landscape background: the curtain acts as a foil which also gives the seated figures a tectonic unity. The heads of the king and the queen are placed in front of the second and fourth sections of the curtain which hangs in symmetrical folds; thus the psychological dissonance in the two figures is mitigated by a harmonious formal rhythm. The figure of John in the relief agrees with the mosaic version in pose and gesture, though he holds a closed scroll instead of the cross staff in his left hand.

THE PRISON SCENES

Imprisonment of John (Fig. 30); *John Sending Two Disciples to Christ* (Fig. 32); *Beheading of John* (Fig. 39). — The three prison scenes which will be considered together show, apart from the correspondence of subject matter, no such connections between the two series as could be established for most of the preceding scenes. On the doors these scenes are enacted on the same stage, thrice repeated without change; the action takes place in front of the prison. In the mosaics (Figs. 27, 29, and 42), on the other hand, not only the general setting, but the form of the building itself changes from scene to scene. The Baptist appears each time within the prison behind a grate which forms a network over his figure. The unsuitability of this motif for plastic rendering, as well as Andrea's classical tendency to unify the setting, may be the reasons for his having discarded from the outset the scheme used for these three compositions in the mosaics.²⁴ A complete explanation of this fact, however, is not forthcoming; in any case the three prison scenes on the doors seem to be Andrea's independent creations. Certain similarities in motif with the mosaics — and these are not lacking — are not sufficient to establish a convincing relationship.

Christ Healing the Lame (Fig. 31). — The close connection between the mosaics and reliefs is resumed clearly in the scene of Christ healing the lame in the presence of two disciples of John who had sent them to him to inquire about his identity. The four essential elements of the mosaic composition (Fig. 28) recur in the same order in the relief — from right to left: Christ, the lame, the crowd, and the two disciples of the Baptist. But while these elements are interwoven in the mosaic, they are clearly separated in the relief and submitted to an ordering principle. In the mosaic Christ is distinguished from the other figures by his size and volume, and the reach of his outstretched arm; yet he is closely surrounded by the tangled mass of people which presses tightly about him. In contrast, the

24. Cf. note 31 below.

Christ of the relief is free of attendants and stands alone as the main actor, over against the crowded mass of the other figures. The void around him acts as the negative equivalent of the crowd surrounding him in the mosaic, so that his isolated figure seems to hold the densely packed group in perfect balance. Moreover, the close juxtaposition of the two disciples' heads one behind the other, the turning aside of one of the heads in the crowd, and the folded hands of another figure show how astonishingly close in detail is the agreement between the two versions. Such conformities are the more arresting in this case because the elements of the prototype have otherwise been so freely recast.

THE SALOME STORY

Feast of Herod (Fig. 36); [*Beheading* (Fig. 39)]; *The Baptist's Head Brought to Herod* (Fig. 37); *Salome Bringing the Head to Herodias* (Fig. 38). — In the mosaics the story of Salome is narrated in three scenes. In the first (Fig. 33), Salome dances to the music of a viol before the royal pair, who are seated with two guests at the banquet table. In the second (Fig. 42), John is beheaded in the presence of Salome. Finally, in the third (Fig. 35), Salome brings the head of the saint to her mother Herodias, who is seated at the table with the king and a third person, while a kneeling servant at the right offers a goblet.

To these three scenes correspond four in the doors, the first two of which have the same subjects as the mosaics; Herodias, however, is not present in the dance scene, nor Salome at the beheading. A new incident is introduced in the third scene, where a servant proffers the Baptist's head to Herod. The fourth scene corresponds in subject to the third in the mosaics: Salome brings the saint's head to Herodias.

The new content of the third scene (Fig. 37) cannot be explained as an iconographic innovation on Andrea's part. In order completely to understand this scene and the whole relationship of the Salome stories in the two cycles, it will be necessary once again to take Giotto's frescoes into consideration. Giotto depicts the entire Salome story within one fresco compartment (Fig. 34). At the left the prison tower is visible; the center is occupied by the banquet scene in which Herod and two guests take part, but from which the queen is absent. The executioner brings the head of John on a plate, a musician plays the viol, and Salome dances. To the right, in another room, Salome kneels before the queen and presents the victim's head to her.²⁵

25. The method of continuous narration employed in the Salome story is exceptional in Giotto's oeuvre. As a rule, Giotto avoids simultaneous representation in the same scene of incidents succeeding each other in time. But in the fresco of Herod's banquet several incidents of the legend are represented in a strange *mélange*. Any complete interpretation of this fresco must take into account that just as the lunette fresco with the *Annunciation to Zacharias* in its present condition shows an empty space at the right, which, to judge by the replica in the Castellani Chapel in Sta. Croce by a follower of Agnolo Gaddi, was certainly filled by figures (cf. F. Rintelen, *Giotto und die Giotto-Apokryphen*, Munich, Leipzig, 1912, p. 139; Julie Gy-Wilde, "Giotto-Studien," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, VII, 1930, p. 63), so the lowest fresco shows an empty spot at the left which a correct reconstruction, with the aid of the very faithful predella copy by another follower of Agnolo Gaddi in the Louvre, No. 1302, shows to have contained the figure of the beheaded Baptist (Julie Gy-Wilde, *op. cit.*, p. 58, uses this copy for the reconstruction of the kneeling Salome); a second copy not quite so faithful exists in the predella panel of the St. John triptych by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini in London, National Gallery, No. 579, dated 1387 (see R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, III, The Hague, 1924, p. 620). The body of the beheaded Baptist must have been

visible originally behind the prison grate. Only thus can the now meaningless white spot in the lower part of the door find a plausible explanation and the broad mass of the tower receive significance. Nowhere in Giotto's paintings do architectural elements occur which are not placed in significant relation with figures or groups. Now here, although the musician stands partly in front of the tower, he is more particularly related to the composition of the figures within the palace. And the tower containing no significant figure to balance the tragic scene at the extreme right would be a departure from Giotto's norm. Furthermore, within the Peruzzi Chapel itself, there is a tendency to push the figures as far as possible toward the lateral edges of the picture area in order to create, by means of contact, an immediate tension between figures and frame. Considered again from this purely compositional point of view, the void at the left side of the Salome fresco appears meaningless. Finally, and most important, the fragmentary condition of the subject itself speaks for the inclusion of the Baptist's figure: of the three incidents of the legend narrated in this fresco, the one which presupposes the death of the Baptist — the executioner carrying the head — would remain unfulfilled, if we accepted the fresco in its present state, that is, *without* the body of the saint. Only with the slain body does the interweaving of the two scenes of the dance of Salome and the death of the Baptist become meaningful, for accord-



FIG. 27. Mosaic: Imprisonment of John



FIG. 28. Mosaic: Christ Healing the Lame



FIG. 29. Mosaic: John Sends Disciples to Christ



FIG. 30. Andrea Pisano, Imprisonment of John



FIG. 31. Andrea Pisano, Christ Healing the Lame



FIG. 32. Andrea Pisano, John Sends Disciples to Christ

FIGS. 27-32. FLORENCE, BAPTISTERY



FIG. 33. Mosaic: Feast of Herod

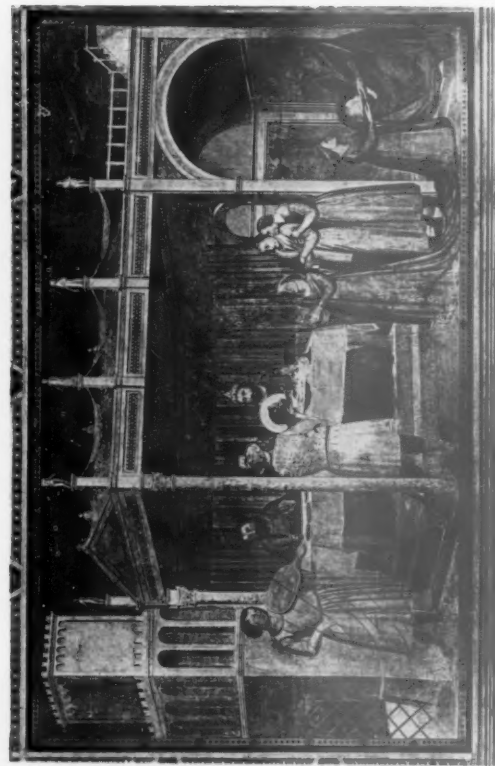


FIG. 34. Florence, S. Croce: Giotto, Feast of Herod



FIG. 35. Mosaic: Salome Bringing the Head to Herodias



FIG. 36. Andrea Pisano, Feast of Herod



FIG. 37. Andrea Pisano, Baptist's Head Brought to Herod



FIG. 38. Andrea Pisano, Salome Bringing the Head to Herodias

FIGS. 33, 35-38. FLORENCE, BAPTISTERY



FIG. 39. Andrea Pisano, Beheading of John the Baptist



FIG. 40. Paris, Louvre: Follower of Agnolo Gaddi, Feast of Herod

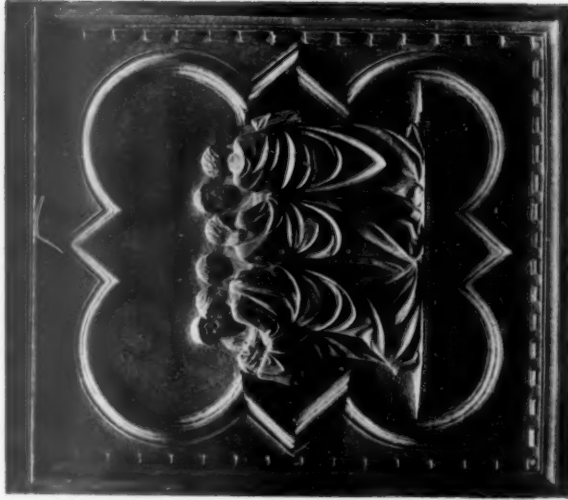


FIG. 41. Andrea Pisano, Baptist Carried to the Tomb

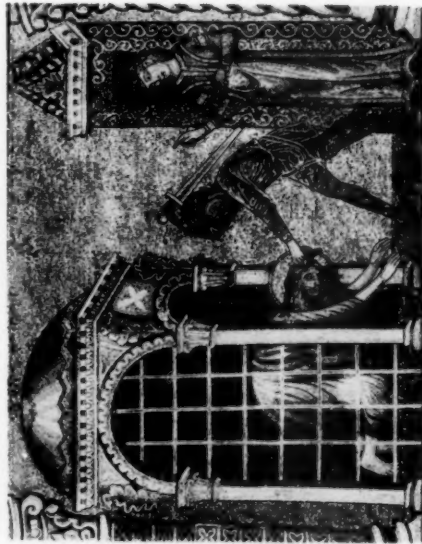


FIG. 42. Mosaic: Beheading of John the Baptist

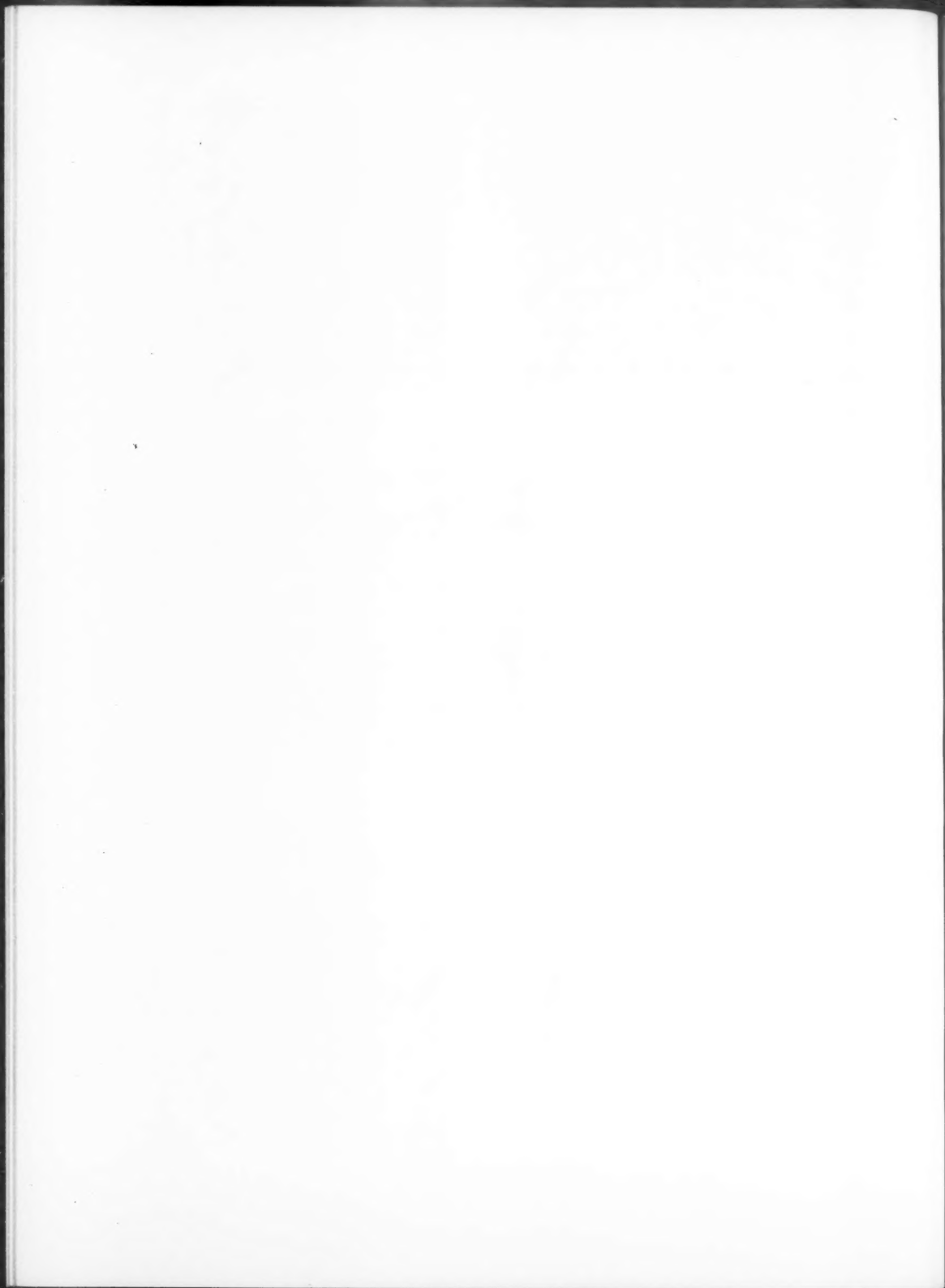


FIG. 43. Andrea Pisano, Entombment



FIG. 44. Mosaic: Entombment

FIGS. 39, 41-44. FLORENCE, BAPTISTERY



Andrea's version of the Salome story combines elements both from the mosaics and from Giotto's fresco, in a strange amalgamation. In the dance scene (his first relief of the series — Fig. 36), he extracts from Giotto's fresco the group of five figures gathered around the table, omitting only the two servants and the executioner seen from behind whose presence at the dance is apparently inconsistent with the progress of the story. As in the fresco, the table is raised on a dais approached by steps, and only two of its legs are visible, while the table top appears to rest on the laps of the seated figures. The musician playing at the left and Salome dancing at the right are almost direct copies from Giotto: Salome's dancing pose follows Giotto's original representation which can be seen in the copy of the Sta. Croce fresco by a follower of Agnolo Gaddi in the Louvre (Fig. 40). Likewise Herod and his two guests are seated in the same order behind the table.²⁶

In *The Baptist's Head Brought to Herod* (Fig. 37), his third incident of the Salome story, Andrea repeats the setting he used in the scene of the dance, thus showing once more his predilection for a uniform stage. The banquet continues; the participants have kept their seats. But Salome now stands, with folded arms, to the left of the table, and to the right a servant kneels to present the Baptist's head to Herod. If we include in our comparison the mosaic version of the scene in which Salome brings the head to Herodias (Fig. 35), it immediately becomes clear that in both this and the scene of the dance Andrea was strongly influenced not by Giotto alone, but also, and fundamentally, by the mosaic. The rectangular curtain which frames the seated figures and cuts them off from the parallel plane of the background is a substitution for the architectural canopy in the mosaic analogous to that of curtain for throne in the scene of *John before Herod* (Figs. 23 and 26). However, the specific motif of the curtain which Andrea uses in both scenes probably derives from the curtain on the walls of the banquet hall in Giotto's fresco. If the executioner standing at the extreme left of the mosaic is eliminated, the mosaic has the same general configuration as the relief. The connection is even more distinct if one realizes that while the difference in content results in a change in the function of the figures, their attitudes nevertheless remain essentially the same. Thus, the servant no longer kneels to present the goblet, but instead proffers the head: he succeeds to the role acted by Salome in the mosaic. On the other hand, Salome herself keeps the same position as in the mosaic, but is deprived of her function, and stands quietly with folded arms. A reminiscence of the active relation between Salome and Herodias in the mosaic persists in the gesture of the guest replacing Herodias, who addresses Salome. The astonishing consistency with which Andrea maintains this system of adapting the poses in his prototype to a new context is especially striking in the configuration of the two arms crossing the body of the central figure. In the mosaic they belonged to Herod, but in the relief one is the arm of a guest, the other that of the king; and in the course of this shift the gestures take on far more meaning. Yet the position of the arms and their relation to the whole composition is unchanged.²⁷

ing to the text of the Bible, the dance of Salome precedes the death of the Baptist. In the fresco the executioner brings in the head while Salome is still dancing; there is thus not only a coordination in space of the two events which followed each other in time, but an interpenetration of the two within a single scene. This is especially noticeable in relation to the third incident at the right, which is merely added to the main scene by the method of continuous narration. The fusion of the two incidents into a single scene must have been clearer in the original state of the fresco, in which, naturally, Salome did not play on the harp but made the dance gesture then customary, as in the Louvre and National Gallery copies and in Andrea's relief (traces of the second arm with raised hand are still visible in the fresco underneath the layer of repaint).

26. In comparison with the more objective compositional unity of Giotto's rendering of this scene, Andrea relies on a more inward psychological unity: in Andrea the attention of every figure is concentrated directly on the main incident; all turn toward the dancing Salome. In the fresco, on the other hand, where the dance and the bringing in of the head by the executioner take place simultaneously before Herod, he and one guest look at the head, the second guest at Salome; but the total compositional effect is so calculated that the unity of the scene is not thereby impaired.

27. If one considers this correspondence to be more than mere coincidence, a plausible explanation can be given. The servant who in the mosaic was nothing but an attendant — one might well say a genre figure — has become an important factor in the action by taking over

These comparisons give significant evidence of Andrea's perception of the potential effectiveness of his prototypes. For in his own artistic creation he eliminates elements which in the mosaics are mere enrichments of the composition and do not contribute essentially to the action or, infinitely more important, he transforms them into integral parts of his concentrated narrative. For instance, the purely genre figure of the kneeling cup-bearer becomes for Andrea the kneeling bearer of the Baptist's head, or he exchanges the figure seated at the right in the mosaic, whose aimless conversational gesture merely distracts the attention from the main event, for another at Herod's right who participates psychologically in the action.

We have seen that Andrea's *Baptist's Head Brought to Herod*—an innovation over the mosaics—was parallel to Giotto's version in content, but that its compositional form was strongly influenced by the mosaic of *Salome Bringing the Head to Herodias*. Now the final scene of the Salome story on the doors (Fig. 38), which shows her bringing the head to her mother and which corresponds in subject to the third scene of the mosaics, is an almost literal copy of Giotto's fresco (Fig. 34). The figures are almost identical, save that in the relief Salome kneels on only one knee and bends toward the queen in a more intense way than in the fresco, and there is thus more continuity between the movement of her body and that of her extended arms. The architecture is taken over from the annex to the banquet hall in the fresco, but its depth and height are compressed in order to form a sort of box-like space, in which the scene takes place. The front arch is eliminated and the roof drawn down close over the head of the seated queen. The small second story as well, with its balustrade and little tower, has been developed out of the equivalent elements in Giotto.

One might at first be inclined to explain this favoring of Giotto's version merely on the grounds of its more precise rendering of the Biblical text, which states clearly that Herodias does not participate in the banquet but receives the Baptist's head from Salome somewhere outside the banquet hall. But if one considers this particular instance of a very close adherence to Giotto in its relation to the complex process of Andrea's adaptation of the whole Salome story from the two earlier cycles, it becomes clear that the taking over of just this scene from Giotto made it possible for Andrea to represent each incident of the narrative in turn in a clear and distinct sequence of four scenes, following each other logically in time. At the same time each of Andrea's scenes embodies with greatest precision the most pregnant moment of each event in the legend without their overlapping or contradicting each other in time or space. Herein lies the intrinsic character of Andrea's narrative quality; the power of his spiritual imagination enables him to progress from the *membra disiecta* of his prototypes to this concentrated form of artistic realization.

Salome's role of carrying the head. As we have seen, the sequence in which the persons at the table are seated in this relief is the same as in the dance relief. The king therefore does not take the central place at the table, as in the mosaic, but is seated to the extreme right, where the guest was placed in the mosaic. This difference in the seating order is motivated by a difference in content: in the relief Herod is to receive the head in order to pass it on to Salome in fulfillment of his pledge. The servant now kneels at the narrow right side of the table close to the king. In the mosaic Herod's left arm crosses over and points to Salome, while his right hand reaches across the table to grasp the goblet held by the servant. In the relief, then, since the incident is different from that of the mosaic, the pointing gesture of the king has become an assigning one. But instead of carrying it out with his left hand, he uses his right, and there is thus no interruption in the direction of his glance toward the head, presented at his left by the servant; and the right arm of the king overlaps the central figure in such a way that, from a

compositional point of view, it remains identical with his left arm in the mosaic. Furthermore, Herod's right arm in the mosaic, which reaches for the goblet offered by the servant, is preserved in the relief in the right arm of the central figure, but here it is motivated by his holding a cup. In spite of differences in content, the compositional significance of Herod's gestures in the mosaic could thus be kept in the relief: for in both, the right arm of the central figure leads over toward the kneeling servant, thereby effecting a partition between the two halves of the picture, and at the same time this caesura is bridged in both by the pointing gesture of Herod's right arm. However, this division into two parts is still further mitigated in the relief, since the right arm of the figure turned toward Salome does not, as in the mosaic, gesture toward her, but repeats the gesture of the central figure toward the right of the composition. This change corresponds to the shift in accent of the scene, which is no longer on the left side of the composition, but on the right.

The Baptist Carried to the Tomb (Fig. 41). — The only scene of the story of John on the bronze doors for which no equivalent or source of inspiration can be found either in the mosaics or in Giotto is that of *The Baptist Carried to the Tomb*, which incidentally is one of Andrea's strongest creations. It cannot, therefore, be discussed within the scope of this study. One may, however, conjecture that the theme of this composition was inspired by some earlier representation of a similar subject, perished or unknown to us.²⁸

The Entombment of the Baptist (Fig. 43; cf. Fig. 44). — Both mosaic and relief cycles conclude their narrative with the representation of the *Entombment of the Baptist*. The impact of the earlier on the later cycle is here reconfirmed in a highly significant way. Just as the first scene of the legend, the *Annunciation to Zacharias*, took place in a temple, so the final action of the drama dies away within the vault of a church. The ciborium of the *Annunciation* has been replaced by a Gothic gabled roof; out of the sepulchral vault of the mosaic *Entombment*, supported by columns, and resembling an inflated sail, Andrea develops a tripartite Gothic baldachin which adapts but no longer preserves the perspective of the architecture in the mosaic. This architecture is instead projected on the plane of the background so that the four columns and their capitals are replaced by four consoles, the tripartite division of the mosaic being thus preserved. Furthermore, the vault of the mosaic, suggestive of a sepulchral church, is obviously imitated in the central part of the baldachin, though adapted to the new style.

In the mosaic the four columns supporting the baldachin divide the picture area symmetrically into three bays, the central bay predominating in width.²⁹ Within the architecture the figures are arranged in a triple rhythm; thus a threefold division of the figure masses corresponds to the tripartition of the plane. The central bay is dominated by a single figure bending over the body of the Baptist, while each of the lateral compartments is filled by a group of figures. One might speak of an *a-b-a* rhythm in the division of the masses standing in inverse ratio to the *b-a-b* division of the plane. The result of this relationship is that the masses do not correspond to the divisions of the plane but overlap them: from the narrow lateral bays the full crowd of the figures overflows into the central compartment without regard to the two inner columns, and this flow is checked only by the enormous candles carried by the two choristers.

Thus interpreted, the structure of the mosaic illuminates Andrea's creative method in a flash: by reversing the arrangement of the masses he has annulled the inverse ratio of mass and planar division in favor of a harmony of the two. Each of the narrow lateral compartments now holds a single figure which stands as if in a niche, crowned by the canopy rising above it. The isolated figure in the center of the mosaic has given way to the main crowd of grief-stricken disciples who, bending over the dead body of the saint, are densely incorporated within the broad space created by the central cupola. Thus the pattern of the mosaic which plays the figures against the architecture in alternating rhythm could serve Andrea's principle of harmoniously coordinating these two elements.

The newly created harmony of mass and plane — which means, in this case, of figures and architecture — receives its final fulfillment as a worthy artistic vehicle for the concentrated inner vehemence with which the mourning disciples take their last leave of the body of their master. Thus Andrea ennobles the concluding funeral act of the mosaics to make it a final apotheosis of his hero.

28. For instance, a lost Giottesque composition of *Mary Carried to the Tomb* which may have served as prototype for the later example in the apse of the Arena Chapel in Padua.

29. This interpretation of the columns as elements which function as divisions of the plane is made plausible

by the fact that the bases of the visible columns are all placed on the lower edge of the picture and thereby lose their spatial quality, which however is still expressed to some extent in the difference in height of the alternate capitals.

VI

The preceding comparisons have shown how close and manifold is the relationship of Andrea's bronze doors to the mosaics and to Giotto's frescoes. The artistic form which Andrea has given his reliefs through the creative transformation of his prototypes depends to a large extent on the astonishing consistency with which he has throughout followed certain principles of composition. These will appear clearly if we sum up the content of our previous discussion under the following categories:

1) ARCHITECTURE. The architecture, or its symbol, in the reliefs is of three different kinds:

a. A curtain attached to the background, which suggests the interior setting of the palace scenes (Figs. 26, 36, and 37).

b. Architecture in elevation, providing a setting for outdoor scenes which take place in front of or beside it (Figs. 9, 30, 32, and 39), with the one exception of the Salome-Herodias scene in which the architecture represents an interior (Fig. 38).

c. Baldachins or canopies which are intended to represent interiors (Figs. 5, 12, and 43).

In the first category, where the artist's intention is to suggest interior space, the curtain attached to the background is arranged in such a way that it frames within a rectangle the figures seated in front of it. The mosaic prototypes for these scenes have in common with them a strong tendency to two-dimensionality in the architecture, which, as on Andrea's doors, defines a rectangle within which the enframed figures are cut off from the rest of the picture (*John before Herod* — Fig. 23, *Salome Bringing the Head to Herodias* — Fig. 35). This architecture, however, is open at the back so that the figures remain in contact with the gold ground. Andrea, on the other hand, completely eliminates the architecture but retains by means of the curtain the compositional value of the frame which in the mosaic was formed by the silhouette of the architecture against the gold background. He thus transforms the quasi-negative background enclosed by the frame into a positive background with the same enframing function.

The principle of composition underlying the scenes with architecture in elevation, Andrea arrives at first from his study of the mosaic of the *Visitation* (Figs. 9 and 10). We have demonstrated in the analysis of this relief how Andrea places the architecture and the lateral figure in the same relation to the picture plane, and how these two static compositional elements, placed diagonally with the same angle of incidence, contrast with and provide space for the central group whose vigorous movement takes place in a plane parallel to the background. It is important to remember that the architecture of the relief, despite modifications, had its close connection with the corresponding mosaic, and that the relation of figures and architecture was already latent in the arrangement of planes in the mosaic. The relationship between figures and architecture in space, however, is a Giottesque contribution. For Andrea changes the arrangement of the architecture in the mosaic by applying a Giottesque principle; he places it diagonally and thus achieves a space-creating architecture.³⁰ And in general, in substituting a genuine spatial relationship between the compositional elements for their mere correspondence in plane, he approaches Giotto's space-creating methods. But he impresses them with his own stamp in such a relief as the *Visitation* by giving the figures and architecture a more direct and intimate connection, and by balancing

30. The method of transformation used by Andrea may be imagined along the following lines: he recognizes as suitable for his own purpose the particular correspondence between figure and architecture which serves, in the *Visitation* mosaic, to balance the whole composition. But there balance is achieved merely on the plane. Now Andrea, a contemporary of Giotto, knows about spatial values and how to obtain them by the coordinated

interplay of figures and architecture, inasmuch as the figures generate the space by their volume, and the architecture, set at a diagonal, dynamically suggests space in depth in which the figures are placed. Giotto's *Visitation* in Padua furnishes a perfect example of the application of these principles. By imposing them on the pattern of the mosaic version, which remains the main source of his composition, Andrea obtains his new solution.

the plastic mass and weight of the architecture harmoniously against the plastic, static power of the figure at the left.³¹

The only scene in which the architecture in elevation is meant to create an interior — Salome with Herodias (Fig. 38) — is, as we have seen, almost a copy of Giotto (Fig. 34). The attempt actually to transplant Giotto's box-like space into the relief violates the laws of relief, and the plastic value of the architectural forms suffers accordingly. Since the elimination of the background wall of Giotto's interior brings the architecture into immediate contact with the neutral background, Andrea does not succeed completely in adapting Giotto's pictorial space to the intermediate medium of relief. In fact, the architecture of Andrea's scene, somewhat reminiscent of a scaffold, proves how inappropriate is the direct transposition into relief of box-like space in painting. On the other hand, this case is symptomatic of Andrea's relationship to Giotto: while his response to the mosaics is always creative, he succumbs to Giotto in matters of composition because of his more fundamental indebtedness to him.

The third category is illustrated by the *Annunciation* and the *Entombment*. Here the architecture consists of an abbreviated projection on the background of forms which in the corresponding mosaic or fresco were given in elevation and presented in "perspective" or on a diagonal. The process of projection, however, is handled differently in the two scenes. The canopy in the relief of the *Annunciation* (Fig. 5), which is substantially dependent on the Sta. Croce version (Fig. 6), looks as if it were simply lifted from the front surface of Giotto's tabernacle roof and placed frontally upon the background deprived of its diagonal arrangement, whereas the tripartite baldachin of the *Entombment* (Fig. 43) is achieved by projecting the mosaic architecture (Fig. 44) *tale quale* on the plane of the background. In the *Annunciation* Andrea expands the altar baldachin, which in the mosaic did not cover the figures but was merely interpolated between them, and by using Giotto's tabernacle form, creates a constructive frame for the whole composition. But in the *Entombment* mosaic the figures are already enclosed by the architecture, and therefore Andrea takes it over entire since it conforms to his compositional principle.

In the *Naming* (Fig. 12) Andrea has subjected Giotto's box-like space (Fig. 14) to the same treatment, placing his figures beneath the reduced projection of a baldachin with gabled roof. This baldachin however has stronger spatial implications than those of the

31. The compositional principle revealed in the *Visitation* is further developed in the three prison scenes. Their architecture consists of a two-storied prison tower placed diagonally at the right, with a large gate and a window, both grated, and a gabled roof. The roof of a porch parallel to the relief plane cuts into the tower just below the gable; it is extended to the left beyond the center of the panel and rests at its free end on a console. This twofold arrangement of the architecture is answered by a twofold organization of the figures. Those at the left, which balance the dynamic diagonal of the tower at the right, are characterized by a relative composure and a certain verticality in contrast to the active central group which corresponds to the static horizontal of the porch roof. In addition, the vertical and relatively quiet figures are set at an angle to the relief plane, whereas the active figures move parallel to it. Thus by the addition of the unforeshortened porch roof to the oblique tower, the architecture echoes both components of the figure organization, so that a total correspondence is attained, while at the same time the relation of the architecture to the plane is echoed in reverse rhythm by that of the figures. Moreover, it is no longer a single figure that balances the lateral architecture, as in the *Visitation*, but a group of figures. The main function of the porch roof is partly to

prevent the group at the left from outbalancing the central action, but still more to give greater dynamic force to the active figures by the dramatic contrast of its quiet horizontal with the intense action beneath it. Thus the expressive values inherent in the architecture are contrasted with those of the figures; a form in repose is set above a group in action (or vice versa, if we compare the tower's sharp diagonal with the group in repose). In the prison scenes, therefore, the principle applied in the *Visitation* is extended: there is not merely an harmonious correlation of the two forces expressing themselves in space and surface; these forces overlap and by the use of contrast are strengthened both in power and significance.

Except for identity of subject, the architecture in these scenes has nothing in common with that of the mosaics save possibly the prison grate against the dark background. The compositional connection between the *Visitation* and the prison scenes may offer the final explanation for Andrea's repudiation of his prototype: his wish to mold his world with aesthetic consistency made him retain the spatial and dynamic relations between figures and architecture which he had already established. The prison scenes in the mosaics, because of their heterogeneity, could not conform with his aesthetic principle, and had therefore to be discarded.

Annunciation and the *Entombment*. The function of the architecture in all three scenes remains the same: to shelter and encompass all the figures.

In all three categories Andrea's architectural forms take as their starting point the corresponding architecture of the mosaics or frescoes which he alters or develops to suit his own artistic purposes.

2) **LANDSCAPE.** In the rendering of natural settings in the reliefs the principal tendency is toward unification of landscape and human figure.³² With the exception of the group in the *Baptism of the Multitude* (Fig. 20), the figures are always shown within the mountainous landscape (Figs. 18, 19, 24, and 25). In the mosaics the landscape organization is more additive: the rocks and trees tend to be treated as separate units, and frequently individual figures are silhouetted against the gold background (Figs. 15, 16, 17, and 21). In the reliefs, the landscape elements of the mosaics are transformed by Andrea's method of unification to create a real space within which the figures exist, an actual stage for the action. This is achieved by the enlargement or increase of the mosaic elements, their general appearance remaining unchanged. Either a rock formation is enlarged in scale and pushed between figures and background to fill the whole width of the picture area, or a new part is added to the already existing rock form. The single exception to this rule is the *Baptism of Christ* in which the landscape of the mosaic already enclosed the figures (Fig. 22); this background Andrea took over without radical change. The result of Andrea's rendering is always the same: the figure composition as a whole is organically incorporated into the landscape background.

In another respect the landscapes of the reliefs differ fundamentally from those of the mosaics. The arid, sharp-edged, crystal-like rocks of the mosaics have given way to a more earthy, clayey formation; the almost shadow-like trees with their black silhouette pressed against the background are replaced by more lively growing stems and foliage which seem swollen by sap. All kinds of flowers sprouting from the ground in the foremost plane, crawling little animals, and birds moving in the trees stress the animation of nature. A discoverer's joy in the world, a new approach to creation is apparent, in contrast to the abstract grandeur of the "moon landscapes" in the mosaics. But nowhere has this animation reached the point where underneath the new attire the Byzantine structure can no longer be discerned.

3) **THE HUMAN FIGURE.** An essentially different conception of the human figure distinguishes from the very beginning the world of the reliefs from that of the mosaics. For the figures who enact the legend on the doors belong to another race. Their minds are absorbed and deeply moved by the action in which they take part, so that each incident of the narrative receives its full psychological expression, and each gesture is guided in its precision by an intrinsic necessity. To the almost infinite vicissitudes of the saint's biography there corresponds an endless variety of spiritual attitudes on the part of all the actors. What is phenomenal is that Andrea was capable of creating these figures after their prototypes of the mosaics, which are significant precisely by the fact that a "complete void of psychological emotion" produces their abstract power; and that, notwithstanding this and other profound differences, he could still adhere so intimately to the pattern of the mosaics — a pattern which he has endowed with such a new and harmonious life.

It has been stated already that in the creation of Andrea's figures Giotto's contribution was particularly essential, and that the breath of life in Giotto's human beings profoundly affected Andrea's world. The painter's influence upon his vocabulary of gesture and attitude, his treatment of costume,³³ and his rendering of volume is of primary importance. Yet

32. It is obvious that the new unity in Andrea's landscape compositions presupposes Giotto.

33. It should of course be remembered that there is a strong French Gothic element in Andrea's drapery style

it is important to note — and we have touched upon this already — that Andrea's reaction to both his prototypes is in the direction of concentrated psychological interpretation and unification; and it is this which reveals his own artistic personality.³⁴

VII

The discovery of the relationship that links the bronze doors with the Baptistery mosaics and Giotto's frescoes clarifies Andrea Pisano's historical position. Unheard of until 1330, Andrea suddenly appears in Florence doing his most important work; nothing definite is known about his artistic origin, and about his education only that he is called "orefice" in the documents referring to the doors.³⁵ His work shows him closely related to the mosaics on the one hand, to Giotto on the other; that is, to the main Florentine example of pre-Giottesque monumental painting, and to the work of the most important artistic personality of his own time. These two elements, past and present, represent at the same time the two poles between which the intense discussion took place that was to become fundamental for the whole future development of art. The mosaics represent the tradition of Byzantine monumental art which was dying out in western Europe, the tradition in which Giotto was born and grew up, and which he overcame with the power of his artistic imagination, creating a new world of his own. In terms of the artistic atmosphere surrounding Andrea, the mosaics therefore represent not a random example from the past, but a very specific one, of central interest for his time — an example, furthermore, the historical effectiveness of which it was the main aesthetic purpose of his time to destroy. Sharing this purpose, Giotto is the highest exponent of the new artistic reality the originality of which must have struck his contemporaries like a revelation. As in all times of decisive revolution, here also the near past seems doubly gone, because the present must carry within itself the whole future.

These two historical elements then underlie Andrea's work. His reaction toward them, however, is basically different. While he responds to the mosaics actively and creatively, he submits more passively to Giotto's influence. Into the artistic world of the mosaics he penetrates with transforming energy, but he follows Giotto categorically. The mosaics are his inspiration for composition and subject; from Giotto he draws the new principles of his imagery. The mosaics represent his point of departure for the invention of the subject, his guarantee of the validity of the image into which the Biblical story has been crystallized; Giotto's is the world in which his human beings breathe, for Andrea is the greatest, and perhaps the only adequate pupil of Giotto. In a fundamental sense Andrea's reaction to the mosaics seems to have been entirely within the conscious and critical sphere; he reflects upon their value, and either accepts or rejects, drawing from them only those elements which can serve his purpose, and transforming them according to definite artistic principles. But his reception of Giotto is complete since Giotto is at the base of his conception of the world. Precisely because of this his imitation of the painter is almost literal whenever he is directly dependent upon him for forms or compositions. For the total obligation makes it difficult for him to detach and transform the single element out of the whole.

A dichotomy thus characterizes Andrea's historical position. A Giottesque *par excellence*, endowed with high capacities that were developed by the great attainments of his time, he nevertheless reaches back to a monument belonging to a style which had been overthrown

which has important consequences for his mode of expression and composition. This will be the subject of future discussion. See note 36.

34. This is perhaps the place to reject the tradition beginning with Manetti, carried on by Vasari, and still haunting modern criticism, that Giotto executed the designs for the doors. Our demonstration of Andrea's com-

bined dependence on the mosaics and on Giotto's own frescoes proves the erroneousness of this tradition.

35. See Jenő Lányi's biography of Andrea Pisano in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, xxvii, pp. 94 ff.; and my doctoral dissertation, *Studien zu Andrea Pisano*, Hamburg, 1940, pp. 9 ff.

precisely by this new Giottesque spirit, so intrinsically a part of his own art. Andrea's art is, in fact, a sort of repetition of Giotto's accomplishment, which it nevertheless takes as its aesthetic premise; it represents therefore a new synthesis of the art of Giotto and of his historical antecedents. The fact that this synthesis is achieved for another medium than painting is the key to Andrea Pisano's historical importance. For the bronze doors are basic for the development of the relief style of the following period, exactly as Giotto's work had become the foundation of future painting. The relief style of Andrea Pisano stands at the point of separation between past and future. No way leads back to Giovanni Pisano, but from Andrea the development of relief goes forward without interruption.

The break between the relief style of Giovanni Pisano and that of Andrea has often been observed, though mainly in regard to the local school tradition, and the attempt has been made to explain it by reference to the reliefs of the façade of Orvieto Cathedral. But anyone will accept this break as absolute who recalls that Andrea's relief style had its origins in monumental painting — the Baptistery mosaics and Giotto. Andrea created a style for which the imagery of the wall plane had been the ferment. Obviously this imagery has nothing to do with illusionistic relief, for the absorption of the elements of monumental painting occurred within the limits established by the innate laws of the relief medium. Only by conforming with these laws could Andrea's art become, as it did, the arcanum of the future style.³⁶

VIII

The period in which Andrea's doors were executed excludes *a priori* the possibility of free invention on the part of the artist in depicting a familiar Biblical event. However decisive the artistic revolution of the time, art still displays a more or less rigorous adherence to traditional formulae in the representation of sacred subjects. There is thus a spiritual coercion, derived from tradition and more powerful than the will of the individual, which binds the creative act of the artist essentially to the prototype, whether chosen by the artist himself or stipulated in the commission. The question now arises whether Andrea turned back to the Byzantine source because it happened to be the most complete cycle of the legend of John available to him, or — attracted by the style of the mosaics — followed what was chiefly an artistic inclination. Secondly, one might ask whether the reworking of the Byzantine prototype, manifest in the relationship we have demonstrated, represents a common artistic attitude covering the whole range of Biblical subjects during this transitional period when the new style developed, or whether it is confined to the individual case of Andrea and his treatment of the cycle of the Baptist.

Within the limits of the present study, only this much can be said: Andrea adhered so closely to Giotto, his contemporary, in the few scenes where he furnished prototypes — it was when Giotto failed him that he used his Byzantine source so extensively — that we might conjecture that if Giotto had painted the complete cycle of the Baptist, Andrea would have followed him alone and disregarded the mosaics. One might thus be inclined to answer the first question raised above by saying that Andrea employed the mosaics because they were by far the most complete cycle of the Baptist's story available to him. And this would in turn mean that the process of artistically transforming the whole of this story into the new style had probably not yet been undertaken at the time of Andrea's activity and that he thus accomplished for this subject what Giotto had done for the whole Christo-

36. The demonstration in this article of Andrea's historical position and importance has necessarily taken into account only his relation to the Baptistery mosaics and Giotto. The whole problem of the tradition of the relief medium and the various influences it underwent in Italy and France has not been touched upon. But it is scarcely

necessary to say that we cannot do justice to Andrea's artistic personality merely by adding up the traditional elements he absorbed. In a comprehensive study now in preparation I am dealing with the total artistic personality of Andrea Pisano. [The photographs for this article were taken by G. Brogi.]

logical cycle. But the manner in which this transformation is achieved proves that a profound communion with his Byzantine prototype was still possible, that the style and character of the prototype were not yet dead, but still so close to Andrea that they could inspire him with vital force in the creation of his new world. In answer to the second question one might remark that Giotto's imagery — always granting that his artistic personality was in many ways different from Andrea's — may have originated in a similar response to the aesthetic character of his models; that the frescoes of Padua and Florence may even represent a creative use of Byzantine sources altogether comparable to Andrea's use of them.

It seems then that something of the impact of one epoch on another at a time when the interplay between old and new was extraordinarily complex is epitomized in Andrea's relationship to the mosaics. And this relationship has, it would appear, something of general significance beyond the problem of the individual artist, as a reflection of the currents and energies of one of the most important crossroads in western civilization.

TABLE OF THE SCENES OF JOHN THE BAPTIST'S STORY AS REPRESENTED
IN THE THREE CYCLES

BAPTISTERY MOSAICS	GIOTTO'S FRESCOES	ANDREA PISANO'S BRONZE DOORS
1. Annunciation to Zacharias	1. Annunciation to Zacharias	1. Annunciation to Zacharias
†2. Visitation		*2. Zacharias Stricken Dumb, Confronting the People
{ 3. Birth of the Baptist	{ 2. Birth of the Baptist	3. Visitation
{ 4. Naming of the Baptist	{ 3. Naming of the Baptist	4. Birth of the Baptist
5. Young Baptist in the Wil- derness		5. Naming of the Baptist
6. Preaching of John the Bap- tist		6. Young Baptist in the Wil- derness
7. Baptism of the Multitude		7. Preaching of John the Baptist
8. Ecce Agnus Dei		**8. Ecce Agnus Dei
9. Baptism of Christ		**9. Baptism of the Multitude
10. John before Herod		10. Baptism of Christ
11. Imprisonment of John		11. John before Herod
12. John Sending Two Disci- ples to Christ		12. Imprisonment of John
13. Christ Healing the Lame		13. John Sending Two Dis- ciples to Christ
14. Feast of Herod	4. Feast of Herod	14. Christ Healing the Lame
15. Beheading of John the Bap- tist		15. Feast of Herod
	5. Baptist's Head Brought to Herod	16. Beheading of John the Baptist
	6. Salome Bringing the Head to Herodias	17. Baptist's Head Brought to Herod
16. Salome Bringing the Head to Herodias		18. Salome Bringing the Head to Herodias
		*19. Baptist Carried to the Tomb
17. Entombment		20. Entombment

{ in one picture compartment.

* scenes represented only in the doors.

** sequence reversed on the doors.

† taken from the Christ cycle of the mosaics.

NEW YORK CITY

NOTES

NEGLECTED CONTEMPORARY SOURCES RELATING TO MICHELANGELO AND TITIAN

BY ERICA TIETZE-CONRAT

1 — MICHELANGELO, PIETRO ARETINO, AND THE *Last Judgment*

Pietro Aretino's malicious criticism of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* is handed down to us in two letters, evidently closely connected, but both unreliably dated.¹ One addressed to Michelangelo himself was discovered in the State Archives in Florence by G. Gaye, who published it as signed by Aretino's own hand and dated MDXLV.² Since Aretino died in 1556, Gaye rectified the date, which must have been a slip of the pen, by placing the x on the other side of the L, making it MDXLV. Since then, November, 1545, has been accepted as the date of the letter in the literature on Michelangelo. The second letter, which appears among Aretino's letters republished at Paris in 1608/9,³ is in all essential parts word for word identical with the one addressed to Michelangelo. It omits, however, the invectives against the funeral monument of Pope Julius II and any allusion to the drawings which Aretino hoped to get as presents from Michelangelo, and also drops the postscript. It is addressed to Alessandro Corvino and dated July, 1546, but — together with the next letter to Gio. Fran. Dolfino — is inserted among the letters of 1547. Steinmann and Pogatscher have already pointed out the disagreement between the date (1546/7) and a passage in the letter which, according to them, refers to the "new Pope after the passing away of Paul."⁴ The passage runs: "Potria essere che il nuovo Pontefice, con pace di Paolo imitasse Gregorio; il quale volse più presto disornar Roma delle superbe statue degli idoli che torre in virtù loro la riverentia all' humili imagini de i santi." Since Paul III did not die until the end of 1549, these critics advance alternative explanations: either the passage was inserted in the printed version only subsequently, or "nuovo" might mean "futuro." At any rate they retain 1546/7 as the date for the letter. In my opinion the passage would be more naturally explained if this dating, which in any case challenges criticism, were dropped and the letter placed in 1550 or later.

The date of 1545 suggested for the letter to Michelangelo is in some ways quite appropriate. In the simplified form to which the letter refers the monument was finished in February, 1545. By that time copies from the *Last Judgment* (completed late in 1541), some perhaps representing only details, had

already reached Venice;⁵ to such copies Aretino may refer in his letter of April, 1544, when he confesses to Michelangelo that they had moved him to tears.⁶ In April, 1546, he recommends to Paolo Pelluca a certain Francesco as an excellent copyist of various nudes from the *Last Judgment*.⁷ A sketch by Ponchino of Castelfranco of the whole composition, as opposed to copies of details, is mentioned in his letter of January, 1546, to Enea Vico.⁸ A letter of October, 1545,⁹ exhorting Titian, then in Rome, not to lose himself entirely in the contemplation of the *Last Judgment*, adds further evidence to a series of laudatory comments, and casual allusions, and, in the letter to Vico, guarded criticism, which prove that in the years 1545–1546 Aretino was interested in the *Last Judgment*. This statement would be an argument in favor of the customary dating of the letter; the date 1545/6, however, hardly agrees with the letters which about that time Aretino was writing to Michelangelo himself. We learn from some of them that he begged drawings from Michelangelo and he seems never to have missed an opportunity of returning to the subject. In spite of the increasing urgency of this correspondence, in spite of the indignant impatience manifested in his letter of May 15, 1545, to Jacopo Cellini and foreshadowing his mood expressed in the famous November letter, the tune of the other letters to Michelangelo himself remains unchanged. With the same obsequious respect with which he approached Michelangelo in April, 1544, he repeats in April, 1546, his request for a few drawings.¹⁰ Steinmann declared it almost incredible that only a few months after his invective Aretino should have dared to beseech Michelangelo for drawings by his hand, "such as you use to waste in the fire and to grudge me" and explained this behavior by Aretino's notoriously foul character.¹¹ Even before Steinmann, Gaye, when he published the letter to Michelangelo, added a number of disapproving characterizations of Aretino by contemporaries, in order to invalidate his reproaches against Michelangelo.

I, for my part, should prefer to point out one gross inconsistency in the letter to Enea Vico mentioned above. Aretino had wondered whether the lack of modesty revealed by the nudes in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* might not cause scandal among the Lutherans. Would he then, in an insulting letter to Michelangelo, a letter which could not but challenge re-

5. Vasari immediately after his return from Venice in 1542 made drawings "from the seven sins" in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* (*Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878–1906, v, p. 553) and sent them to Giulio Romano, who may have made them accessible to Pietro Aretino. Furthermore, we are told that another friend of the latter, Pierino del Vaga, when he died in 1546, left behind numerous drawings made by his pupil Lionardo Cungi dal Borgo San Sepolcro who had drawn "tutta la capella di Michelangelo" (Vasari, *Vite*, v, p. 632). It was Battista Cungi, his brother, whom Vasari had called to Venice in the early spring of 1542 to assist with the stage decorations of Aretino's *La Talanta* (Vasari, *Vite*, vi, p. 223).

6. *Lettere*, III, pp. 45v–46.

7. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 44v.

8. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 328 f.

9. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 236–237.

10. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 37.

11. *Op. cit.*, II, p. 332.

1. The best synopsis of the letters is found in E. Steinmann and H. Pogatscher, "Dokumente und Forschungen zu Michelangelo," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIX, 1906, pp. 489 ff.; see also Sergio Ortolani, "Pietro Aretino e Michelangelo," *L'Arte*, XXV, 1922, pp. 15–26.

2. Archivio Mediceo, Stroziana filza 133; G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, Florence, 1839–40, II, p. 335.

3. *Lettere di Pietro Aretino*, Paris, 1608–9, IV, pp. 86–87.

4. Steinmann-Pogatscher, *op. cit.*, p. 496 note.

praisal, have taken the same stand which in the other letter he described as the Lutheran attitude? And this, especially, in 1545 when he had every reason to emphasize his staunch Catholic faith which, as he mentioned in a letter to Paolo Giovio of February, 1545,¹² had been called into question by three prelates.

The letter to Michelangelo, consequently, might well have been composed around 1545, but not dispatched; or it might have been written and sent later, at a time when Aretino, having broken off his relations with Michelangelo, no longer expected a gift from him and, furthermore, would not have implicated himself by adopting the "Lutheran" point of view which meanwhile had become that of the severe Counter-Reformation. It seems that the available sources do not permit a definite choice between these alternatives. In my opinion, several points favor the first, that the letter was never dispatched to Michelangelo. If Michelangelo had received it, yet had neither torn it up, as Aretino suggested in his postscript, nor burned it, as he did with many other letters (so Vasari informs us),¹³ how does it happen that the letter is not in the Buonarrotti Archives, but in the State Archives in Florence? Such a letter would hardly have belonged to those "by Princes and other great men" which Lionardo Buonarrotti, at Vasari's instance, took to Florence after his uncle's death to do him honor. Furthermore, Aretino used to emphasize and advertise his good and close relations with Michelangelo, as we know from Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogue on Painting*, in which a remark such as the following could be attributed to him: "I am sure you have heard that when Raphael lived he was a very dear friend of mine just as nowadays Michelangelo is. How highly he esteems my opinion is made evident by his answer to a letter which I wrote him about his last painting."¹⁴ This dialogue which Aretino, though he did not actually dictate it, certainly inspired, was published in 1557, shortly after his death. And finally, why would Aretino, if he really had sent the letter to Michelangelo, have made it public in a milder version addressed to Corvino?

The letter to Corvino might have been sent in order to give it currency before it was actually published. Who was this Alessandro Corvino whom, of all men, Pietro Aretino thus chose to inform of his attitude toward Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*? According to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, he was an obscure sitter for a portrait by Titian in 1545, a friend of the learned Priscianese;¹⁵ to the latter, in February, 1545, Pietro Aretino wrote that in Titian's portrait Corvino seemed to live and breathe.¹⁶ Elsewhere Aretino calls him a youth of outstanding qualities without specifying them. So much is certain, that he was a man of means, living in Rome "as a cavalier not as a priest" and quite a well-known figure in the set of Pietro Aretino's and Titian's Roman friends.¹⁷ There we shall meet him again on a later occasion. He was a busybody always willing to offer his services, although conscious of never getting anywhere. Still he was a man with

good connections. When in 1550 Pietro Aretino wrote to him to inquire how his sonnet sent to the new Pope had been received, Corvino busied himself a whole morning in the antechambers of various cardinals and, in acknowledgment of his own inefficiency, finally applied to his friend Casale, the secretary of the Cardinal of Carpi. Other people besides Pietro Aretino used Corvino as a go-between.¹⁸ The criticism of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* certainly was not "news" meant for the personal information of the addressee; the letter was sent to an independent young man, a member of a distinguished club, in order that it might be treated with indiscretion. And a similar semi-public manifesto, to my mind, is also the so much more poignant letter to Michelangelo.

The choice of the letter form for such a manifesto would have been very natural for Pietro Aretino, who had already published various sets of his own letters; it would also have been tempting to add to a collection of actual letters some of which had not really been sent. For a person who writes letters with the idea of publication, or is paid for writing and publishing letters, a letter might not serve its ordinary purpose. It might become instead a handy vehicle for sundry literary purposes, and it is thus that Aretino uses not only his own, but also letters allegedly addressed to himself.¹⁹ In a collection of letters written to him, published in 1551 by his friend Marcolini, a letter by Marcolini himself, dated September 15, 1551, in Venice, is included.²⁰ Having failed to find Aretino at home when he came to pay him a visit, Marcolini seizes the occasion to describe to the journalist his own art collection and to praise him in the highest terms for his patronage of art. The essay may be termed "Pietro Aretino as an Art Lover." The pretext of not having met Aretino is a little too silly, since Marcolini lived just round the corner and daily ran into him and his crowd. Whether the letter was really written by Marcolini, or by Aretino so that his publisher might include it in his collected letters, would have to be de-

18. See the letter of P. Trappolino to Corvino, published in Bottari-Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura, ed architettura*, Milan, 1822-25, v, pp. 177 ff.

19. The following are typical examples of Aretino's literary procedure. In a short letter of February, 1546 (*Lettere*, III, p. 348) he informs Titian of their mutual friend Andrea Sansovino's arrest and subsequent release. After several letters to other people, a second, this time a long one, addressed to Titian is inserted (*ibid.*, III, p. 359) in which Aretino retells the same story at length, describing in the same sequence, first his agitation at the news of Sansovino's misfortune, then his rejoicing on hearing of the friend's release, the whole interspersed with general considerations on contemporary architecture and ending in a eulogy of the Venetian authorities concerned with the affair. The second version is a sort of essay written on the basis of the draft contained in the first, but even this draft is already made up for publication, since Titian had already been largely instrumental in obtaining Sansovino's release. My second example is another letter written to Titian, then in Rome, concerning the death of the Marchese del Vasto on April 6, 1546 (*Lettere*, IV, p. 452), according to which del Vasto died not from an apoplectic stroke or vomiting, as had been the general opinion, but from a mental shock caused by two gentlemen whose names are not mentioned. The letter is intended to unveil an intrigue, and if it had really been sent to Rome, this would have been done only to create a stir. It is more likely that the epistolary form including the address to Titian was chosen by Pietro Aretino only to enable him to publish his *saillie* in an apparently spontaneous manner.

20. *Lettere scritte a Pietro Aretino*, Venice, 1551, II, p. 436.

12. *Lettere*, III, pp. 104v-107.

13. See his letter to Duke Cosimo, *Vite*, VIII, p. 380.

14. *Dialogo della pittura intitolato l'Aretino*, Venice, 1557.

15. *Titian*, 2nd ed., London, 1881, II, p. 107.

16. *Lettere*, III, pp. 97v-98.

17. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 145v-146.

cided by a Romanist better used than myself to Marcolini's ways of expressing himself. It makes but little difference. My point is only to emphasize that many of these letters should be accepted as a literary form and, consequently, to draw the conclusion that Pietro Aretino's November letter to Michelangelo might be a mere fiction, a literary production written with the intention of working up the machinations against Michelangelo and the *Last Judgment* by every possible means behind his back.

It has repeatedly been stated that the *Last Judgment* was most fiercely attacked from Venice and that Vasari in his *Life of Michelangelo* had to ward off these attacks. In an ingenious article, Lionello Venturi has demonstrated Pietro Aretino's influence on the second edition of Vasari's *Lives* and very astutely pointed out a passage in the *Life of Beato Angelico*, which was added in this edition, as evidence of the attention paid to Aretino's judgment on Michelangelo's mural: "Non vorrei che alcuni credessero che da me fossero approvate quelle figure che nelle chiese sono dipinte poco meno che nudo del tutto: perchè in cotali si vede che il pittore non ha avuto quelle considerazioni che doveva al luogo. . . ." ²¹ Steinmann adds to other Venetian opponents the popular poet and actor Andrea Calmo whose letter to Michelangelo makes him wonder where admiration ends and mockery begins. ²² And it is certainly worth mentioning that the letter in question does not appear in the first editions of Calmo's letters of 1547 and 1548, but only in the third of 1552.

In this connection we may recall Aretino's *La Talanta*, produced in Venice in 1542. One passage already quoted by Thode, ²³ but omitted by Steinmann and Wittkower, refers directly to the *Last Judgment*; the second, hitherto unheeded, is more general, but might also have to do with it. The first passage occurs in the third scene of the third act:

"Pizio (to Orfinio): Se io trovo quei gaglioffi, che hanno ordine di portare i doni alla Signora, ne vo fare un mezzo atto: intanto andatvene in cappella a vedere il di del Giudizio che ha dipinto Michelangelo, che dice Fra Sebastiano del Piombo, pittore illustre, ch'è difficile a comprendere quei siano più vive, o le gente che ammirano le figure, o le figure che sono ammirate da le genti."

The second passage is in the nineteenth scene of the same act:

"Orfinio: Io no te lo dissi nel tuo andare a lei, per non parere di vanagloriarmene.

"Pizio: Parlate delle pitture del Buonarroti?" ²⁴

21. *Mélanges Bertaux*, Paris, 1924, pp. 323-328.

22. E. Steinmann, *Michelangelo im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, Leipzig, 1930, p. 48. The letter, written in the Venetian vernacular, is transcribed in modern Italian in Steinmann-Wittkower, *Michelangelo Bibliographie*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 419 ff.

23. *Michelangelo. Kritische Untersuchungen über seine Werke*, Berlin, 1908-13, II, p. 70.

24. The comedy contains other references to contemporary art: one alluding to Vasari's staging of *La Talanta* for the Sempiterni in Venice in the carnival of 1542 has repeatedly been cited; another in praise of Raphael is printed in Vincenzo Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti*, Città del Vaticano, 1936, p. 372. Blando, a character in the comedy, emphasizes Raphael's respect for his own criticism of the painter's art. Since a similar complaisance of Raphael toward Aretino is asserted, almost in the same words, in Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo*,

Thode listed the first passage among the laudatory utterances on the *Last Judgment*. But considering that after 1535 the relations between Michelangelo and Fra Sebastiano were not very good, we may wonder whether this apparent compliment has not a double meaning. The second passage may have been meant only for a small circle of the initiate, such as the audience of members of an elegant club in Venice would have been. The sudden interpolation — when Pizio hears the word "vanagloriarmene" he instinctively thinks of Michelangelo's virtuosity — suggests disapproving criticism.

This may, however, be a mistaken impression. In 1536 Aretino had written to Bernardino Daniello: "E quello che più mi ha sospeso in me stesso nell'opera usciti de la mente, è l'havere io conosciuto ne le sue discretioni il pro[p]rio giudicio che Michelagnolo volse che si conoscesse nelle sue pitture di Cappella a Roma. Egli che sapeva il valor del suo stile, accioche i dipintori havesser' meglio a considerare il profondo disegno, che il cielo, & il suo studio gli diede, uscendo de l'uso de gli altri fece le figure grandi oltra il naturale; perche gli occhi nel subito alzarsi a quelle si confondessero nella maraviglia, a confussi nel maravigliarsi di ciò, cominciassero sottilmente a ritrar' col guardo la possanza de le sue fatiche." ²⁵ And as Ortolani has pointed out, ²⁶ Vasari's statement on Michelangelo's later work in the chapel is very similar: Michelangelo intended to show the grand style in representing nudes and his superiority in drawing. ²⁷ The question whether the technical brilliance of the *Last Judgment* is its greatest glory or its deepest weakness remains the crucial point in the criticism of Michelangelo's mural throughout the following centuries. ²⁸

II — TITIAN AND THE VESALIUS ILLUSTRATIONS

I am taking this opportunity to add another contemporary passage overlooked in the literature on Michelangelo. It is hidden away in the *diceria* of Annibale Caro, entitled "La statua della Foia, ovvero di Santa Nafissa" and dedicated to the "sesto Re della Virtù." ²⁹ I quote the first paragraph as far as it concerns our particular problem or the fine arts in general, and omit the rest which runs on into humorous remarks, now quite stale and tiresome (since nothing grows obsolete so fast as humor) and, still worse, into gross indecency.

"Serenissimo Re.

quando, pochi giorni sono, la Maestà Vostra, non

Blando seems to represent Aretino. When we remember how deeply insulted Aretino felt by Michelangelo because the latter did not take any notice of his criticism, we may consider this passage, too, as directed against Michelangelo. The first and second scenes of the fourth act bring in words of acknowledgment for Pierino del Vaga.

25. *Lettere*, I, p. 66.

26. *Op. cit.*, pp. 15 ff.

27. *Vite*, VII, p. 210.

28. Cf. Hans Tietze, "Michelangelo's Jüngstes Gericht und die Nachwelt," *Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen*, Bonn, 1926, p. 429.

29. First published in full by B. Gamba, *Dicerie di Annibal Caro e di altri a Re della Virtù*, Calveley-Hall, 1821, from an apparently incomplete manuscript belonging to G. B. Tomitano di Oderzo. I quote from the reprint in the Biblioteca Rara, ed. G. Daeli, Milan, 1863, XII, pp. 183 ff.

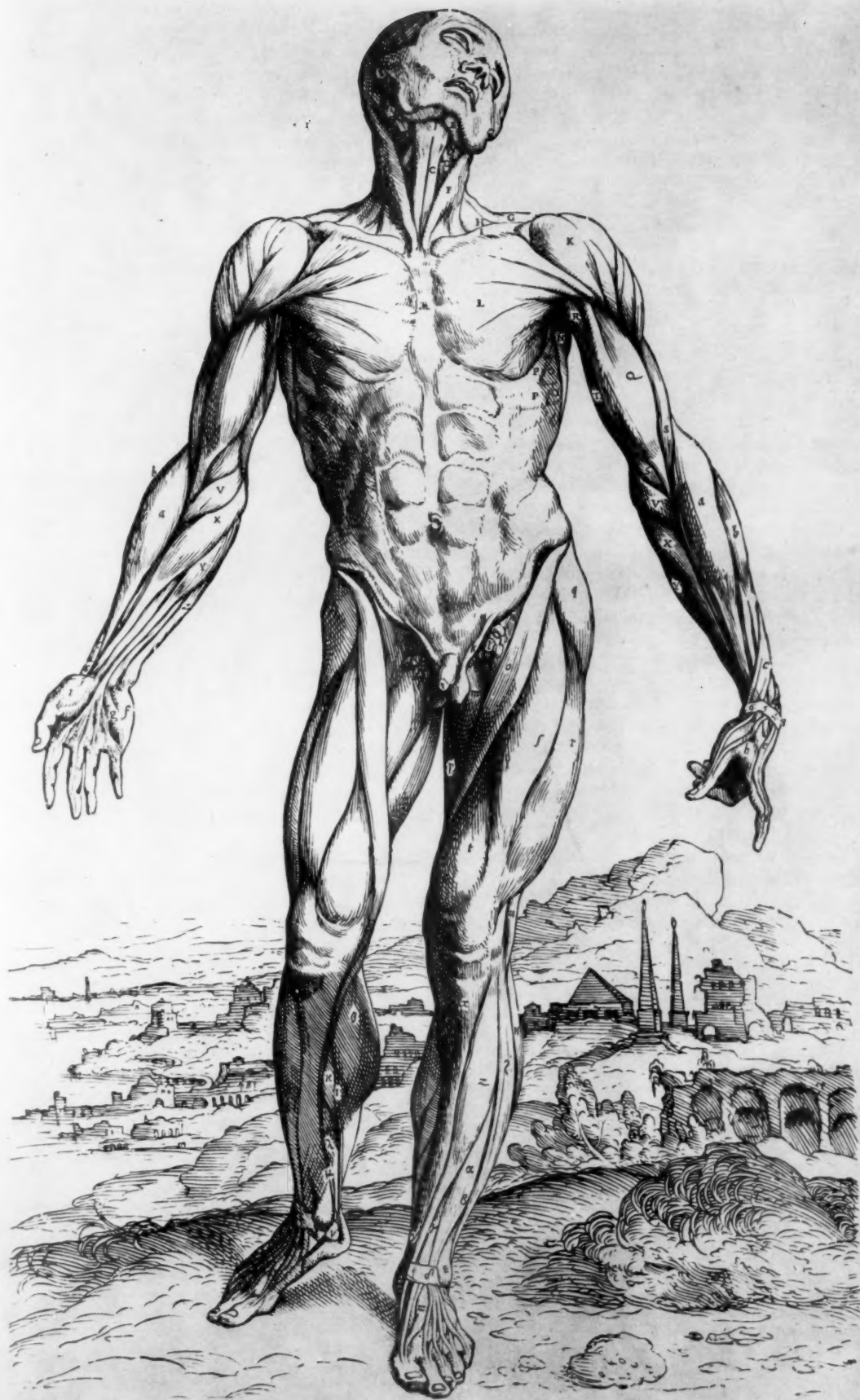
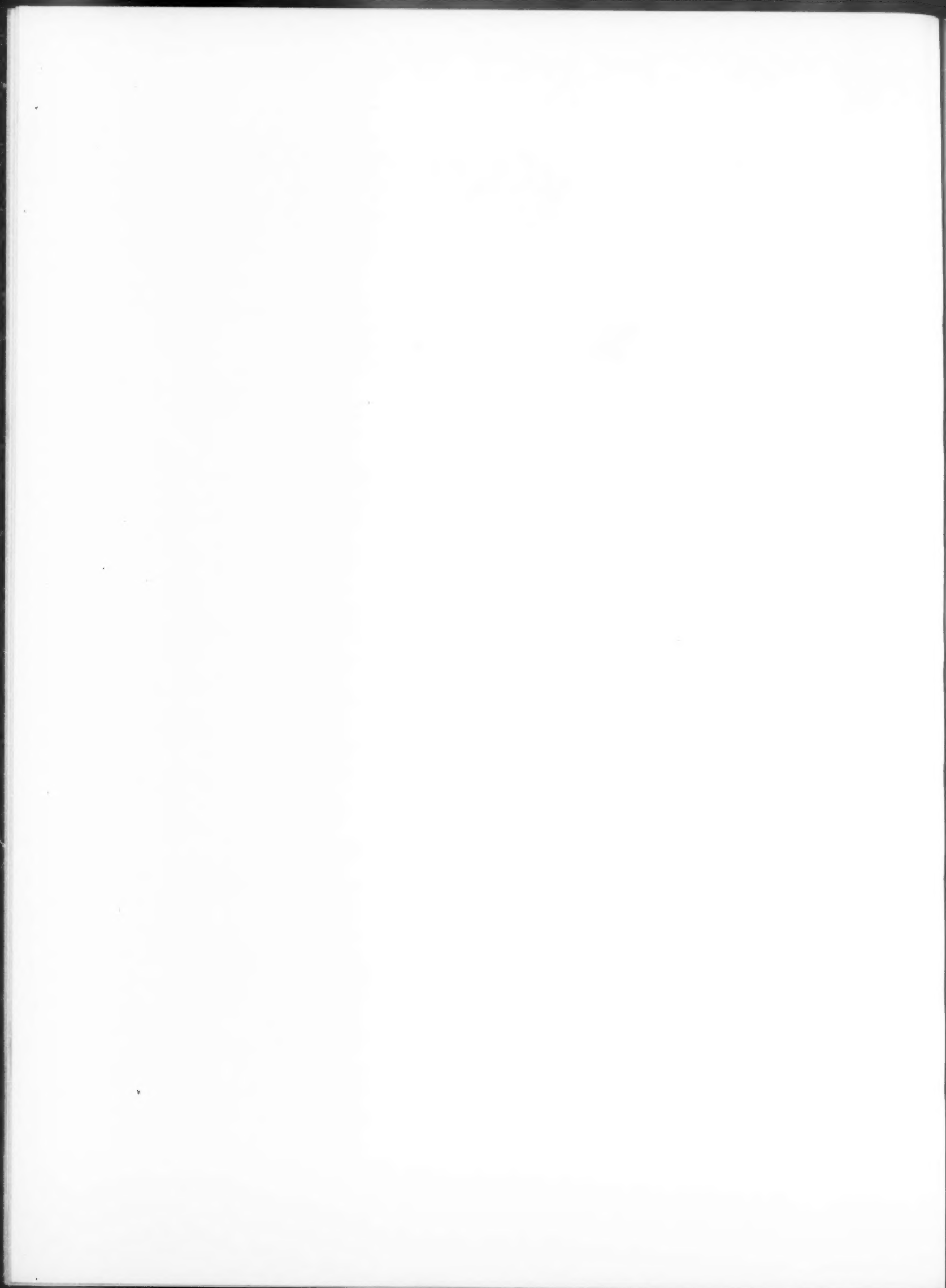


Illustration from Vesalius' *Anatomy*



aveva di questo Regno ancora che il merito, io venni con alcuni altri a capitare per avventura nella sua stanza privata, e mi parve da principio d'esser entrato in una bottega di vettime: tanti e sì gran vasi antichi ci vidi raccolti, fra i quali il suo mee. Ferranti me mostrò la brocca, con che Egeria andava per l'acqua alla fontana etc. Dall'altro canto vedendo un gran monte di teste mozze, di gambe fracassate, di braccia rotte a d'altri membri e arnesi squarciati etc. mi si rappresentò davanti la spelunca di Polifema, la notomia del Vecelli, e la sconfitta di Roncisvalle. Ma ravvedendomi ch'era di pietra giudicai, che la Maestà Vostra fusse un galantuomo, e che si diletasse d'anticaglie e d'altre cose rare, sì come intesi poi; e perchè ella mi donò nel partire un certo suo Nicchio fantastico, quale ho messo fra l'altre mie ricchezze. . . ."

Caro then presents to the "king" a marble statue which, according to the explicit description that omits no detail, corresponds exactly to an ancient type of hermaphrodite, examples of which are illustrated in Reinach.³⁰ Caro sums up his description by remarking, "On the whole it is a strange thing," and quotes the opinions of various friends on the statue:

"Fra Bastiano il quale dice che pizzica del letto di Policleteo. Michelangelo la voleva ritrarre per servirsene in Cappella e io non ho voluto. Il Maroniano, il Corvino e'l Gandolfo, tre chiarissimi Modanesi, sono tutti d'una opinione, . . . che sia il loro Potta da Modena il quale, benché fusse donna, fu chiamato col nome di maschio, perche fu una viragine. . . ."

We are led here into the middle of a curiosity cabinet which Caro describes with ironical quips. My teacher Julius von Schlosser, author of the standard book on this kind of collection,³¹ would have enjoyed Caro's description, which apparently escaped him, for otherwise he would surely have made a note of the passage on the "letto di Policleteo" when he was dealing with the antiques owned by Lorenzo Ghiberti.³² He mentions Vasari who gave the name of "letto di Policleteo" to a piece of sculpture which passed from Ghiberti's property into that of Giovanni Gaddi, but in point of fact, Caro's *diceria* preceded Vasari by several years. Giovanni Gaddi! "I was on terms of the closest intimacy with one Messer Giovanni Gaddi," writes Benvenuto Cellini, "who was a clerk of the camera, and a great connoisseur of the arts, although he had no practical acquaintance with any. In his household were a certain Messer Giovanni, a Greek of eminent learning, Messer Lodovico of Fano, no less distinguished as a man of letters, Messer Antonio Allegretti and Messer Annibale Caro, at that time in

his early manhood. Messer Bastiano of Venice,³³ a most excellent painter, and I were admitted to their society; and almost every day we met together in Messer Giovanni's company."³⁴ This recollection of Cellini, going back to the late 1520's, provides the background against which the passage "Fra Bastiano dice che pizzica del letto di Policleteo" is brought into relief. If Hülsen's identification of the "letto" with the relief of Amor and Psyche is correct,³⁵ Fra Sebastiano might well have been reminded of the grotesque serving there as a bedpost.

Mention of the priority of the *diceria* to Vasari might lead us to say a word about its date before discussing the reference to Titian. The *diceria* is unanimously placed in the year 1538 since in the preface of his *Commentario alla Fischeide* of 1539³⁶ Caro, in the middle of many puns on "i fichi o le fische," also mentions "il Fico di Modena," "di che altra volta abbiamo disputati nella diceria di Santa Nafissa," and this *diceria* is identified with the one named "La statua della Foia, ovvero di Santa Nafissa." About the carnival entertainments within the Accademia della Virtù in Rome we are informed through Caro's letter of March 4, 1538, to Benedetto Varchi in Padua, in which he reports on the progress of the academy: "Il gioco della Virtù crebbe tanto che diventò Reame, e questo Carnevale vi si son fatte gran cose, perchè ogni settimana sedeva un Re, che al ultimo aveva da fare una cena in fin della quale ognuno era comandato a presentarlo d'una stravaganza o d'una composizione a proposito di esso. . . . Uno di questi Re è stato M. Gio. Francesco Lioni il quale si trova (come sapete) un naso sesquipedale. Il mio presente è stato un guardanaso, che mettendogli al volto con inclusa diceria, ha dato da ridere assai. . . ."³⁷ It is surprising, if the *diceria* entitled "La statua della Foia" were really written in 1538, that in this letter Caro does not breathe a word concerning it; he is full of the new game, sends the "diceria al Re Nasone" to Varchi and promises to keep him informed ("s'erano poi altre composizioni degli altri e mandaranovisi"); in a letter to Ardinghello, of March 22 of the same year, he again announces the same "diceria de' Nasi" and again not a word about the other related *diceria*, though the carnival was almost over when he wrote.³⁸ All these are arguments against 1538.

Might the *diceria* rather have originated from the

33. In a rhymed letter by Caro to one Giovanni Battista (*Lettere famigliari di Annibale Caro*, Bologna, 1819, I, p. 193) there is another reference to Fra Bastiano:

"Parmi che fra Bastiano pittore avesse
Capriccio, e forse l'ha già messa in opra,
Perchè altri pria di lui non l'ho metesse;
Che la lapida qual morto lo copra
Voleva di Roma nel Popolo porre,
E farvi 'Ognuno sel Becca' intagliar sopra. . . ."

This letter has been dated by Francesco Sarri (*Annibale Caro*, Milan, 1934, p. 227) — and others before — in Caro's youth (before 1528).

34. *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, transl. by J. A. Symonds, New York [1927], p. 89.

35. Illustrated in Schlosser, *Leben und Meinungen*, p. 137. See Chr. Hülsen, "Antiken in Rom," *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, XVIII, 1915, pp. 132-137.

36. Reprinted in the Biblioteca Rara, ed. G. Daeli, vol. XII.

37. *Lettere famigliari*, I, pp. 22-23.

38. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 23-24.

30. S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1897-1930, I, 667 or 670. The rest of the description in the *Dicerie* reads: "Questa figura alle poppe, alle fattezze ed all' abito donnesco, senza dubbio è di una donna; e non meno ha d'uomo un bischero ardito, interizzato e appanato assai bene, a con ambe le mani alzandosi i panni dinanzi per insino al bellico lo mostra al popolo con un paio di granelli sodi e raccolti: in somma è una bizzarra cosa."

31. *Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance*, Leipzig, 1908.

32. "Über einige Antiken Ghiberti's," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXIV, 1903, pp. 125 ff.; and again in his *Leben und Meinungen des Florentiner Bildners Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Basel, 1941, pp. 123 ff.

carnival of the year 1539 which Caro probably spent in Rome? In a letter written there on June 14, 1539, he introduces to L. Martini in Florence his friend Alessandro Corvino, Crowe and Cavalcaselle's "obscure" sitter for a Titian portrait and the addressee of Pietro Aretino's invective against Michelangelo,³⁹ and characterizes Corvino as the pleasant nondescript personality he appears in Aretino's correspondence. There is, however, a double objection to be raised against the date of 1539: the mention of Titian's *Anatomy* and of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*. When a Renaissance author mentions an artist he does so to honor him — and himself. The emergence of Titian's name in the *diceria* recalls the fact that on the occasion of Caro's stay in Venice, in 1540, he became intimate with Titian, as we know from other sources. Caro had enjoyed the hospitality of the poet Domenico Venier in whose house he met Titian's friends, first among them Pietro Aretino, and most probably also Titian himself. As late as October 10, 1545, Caro sends his regards to the "gentilissimo" Titian and to Sansovino.⁴⁰

"La notomia del Vecelli" unquestionably refers to the famous work of Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica*, published in 1543 at Basle by the Oporinus Press,⁴¹ for contents and presentation one of the most magnificent books existing. Mr. William M. Ivins has recently emphasized its importance by calling the year of its publication one of the turning points in the history of mankind.⁴² The woodcuts for its illustration were traditionally attributed to Titian on the basis of their outstanding quality⁴³ until in the nineteenth century Vasari's testimony for Giovanni Stefano di Calcar's authorship attracted attention and gained credence.⁴⁴ In three passages Vasari interceded in Calcar's favor: (1) to Titian's *Life* he appended those of his pupils, among them Calcar, of whom he writes: "Furono di man di costui (il che gli doverà in tutti i tempi essere d'Honore) e disegni dell'anatomia che fece intagliare e mandar fuori con la sua opera l'eccellentissimo Andrea Vessalio";⁴⁵ (2) in his own biography, speaking of his sojourn in Naples: "Conobbi ancora in Napoli e fu mio amicissimo l'anno 1545, Giovanni di Calcar . . . il quale disegnò la sua notomia al Vessalio";⁴⁶ (3) in his survey of the graphic artists: "Come furono anco (i.e. condotte con bella maniera d'intagli) gli undici pezzi di carte grandi di notomia,

che furono fatte da Andrea Vessalio e disegnate da Giovanni di Calcar fiamingo, pittor eccellentissimo."⁴⁷

The fact that Caro, in personal touch with Titian and his circle and writing approximately at the time when the woodcuts appeared, mentions the *Anatomy* as Titian's should lead to a reconsideration not only of the date of the *diceria*, but of the very authorship of the illustrations. To discuss the latter first, Caro's attribution to Titian does not represent a later tradition based on quality and substituting, as is always the case, a greater name for a lesser whose memory has faded; here, as a matter of fact, is no tradition at all, but an almost contemporary piece of information. How does this compare with the more precise and thrice repeated report by Vasari? Since Caro's observation proves that the attribution to Titian goes back to the sixteenth century, Vasari's remarkable emphasis on Calcar may have been meant as an intentional correction of what he considered an error. My personal opinion, however, is that Vasari might have wanted to throw light on the share in the woodcuts of his usually underrated "amicissimo Calcar." As a matter of fact, had attention not been drawn to Vasari's testimony, nobody would have questioned the attribution to Titian, since the postures and the proportions of the figures, and the landscape in which the figures are placed, are entirely in his style. They are so to such an extent that we are tempted to imagine that Calcar, whose portraits are very close to Titian's, was likewise dependent on Titian in his other paintings, none of which are preserved. Caro's early attribution of the *Anatomy* to Titian might be interpreted as evidence of a special sort of division of labor. When Vesalius wanted the illustrations made, he may have got into touch with Titian's studio. The assistant chosen for the task was probably Calcar, who, using either large nudes by Titian or, more likely, studies of poses made by him, transformed them into clear outlines which under Vesalius's supervision he filled with anatomical details. The latter alternative seems more attractive, since we are unable to imagine how such large nudes by Titian, none of which exist, may have looked. Calcar made a similar use of Titian's landscape sketches. According to my hypothesis then the artistic invention of the figures, the *idea*, in the terminology of the period, and the *mise en scène* would be Titian's, while Calcar's would be that of the "medical designer," "il che gli doverà in tutti i tempi essere d'Honore." This would correspond exactly to the division of labor typical of Raphael's studio and such an amount of participation by a pupil would also be compatible with any reasonable conception of Titian's workshop. The painstaking rendering of the minute results of the anatomical studies would contradict any notion that Titian himself was the medical designer.

The work on the woodcuts must have been in full swing at the time when Caro was at Venice. But since in the *diceria* he mentions the "notomia del Vecellio," it is tempting to presume that he refers to the completed work, published only in 1543 and known to all members of his circle in Rome.

A further argument in favor of a later dating of the *diceria* — after the publication of Titian's *Anat-*

39. See above, p. 155.

40. Caro, *Lettere famigliari*, II, p. 117. Compare Aretino's letter to Caro of July, 1545 (*Lettere*, III, p. 160v).

41. An excellent reprint using the old woodblocks was published in Munich in 1934 (*Andreae Vesalii Bruxellensis Icones anatomicae*, ed. Edinburgh Academy of Medicine and University of Munich Library).

42. "Woodcuts to Vesalius," *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, XXXI, 1936, pp. 139-142.

43. In the late seventeenth century several books on anatomy for the use of painters attributed the Vesalius drawings to Titian. Giuseppe Montani for instance, in an *Anatomia ridotto all'uso de' pittori* . . . , Venice, 1679, speaks of the "famosissime tavole Vesalie" designed by Titian. See M. Roth, *Andreae Vesalii Bruxellensis*, Berlin, 1892, p. 166, footnote 2; cf. p. 156, footnote 1, and p. 301. See also the *Enciclopedia italiana*, XXXV, p. 214, s.v. Vesalio.

44. Cf. Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, s.v. Calcar.

45. *Vite*, VII, p. 461.

46. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 582.

47. *Ibid.*, v, p. 435.

omy — would be the frequently quoted letter of Jacopo Bonfadio of November 24, 1543, in which he draws the attention of Fortunato Martinengo of Bergamo to the *diceria*. Considering Caro's eagerness to distribute his literary products among the members of the academic intelligentsia and, on the other hand, the probably shortlived interest in them, we may presume that the *diceria* was actually written in 1543.

There remains still the difficulty of Caro's mention of it in the *Commentario alla Fischeide* in 1539. Might the abbreviated title refer to some other *diceria*? "Nafissa" is as popular a subject in this circle as the Hermaphrodite. The "Reina Gigia Nasifissa," mentioned by Caro in a letter of April 16, 1538, written to Lioni in Paris and by the commentators identified with one of Molza's sweethearts, seems to derive from the same vocabulary.⁴⁸ It is not impossible that an earlier *diceria di Santa Nafissa* existed.

If, however, the *dicerie* mentioned in 1539 and in 1543 are identical, Caro with his reference to Titian's *Anatomy* must have meant the six *tabulae anatomicae* which were published by Calcar in Venice, as early as 1538, and were again used when the complete book came out in 1543. In this case the attribution to Titian would have still greater force and the passage in the *diceria* referring to the *Last Judgment* might not have been aimed at the completed mural, but would lead us to suppose that the inside story, told by Vasari,⁴⁹ had been circulating much

48. The identification has been made on the basis of a letter by Caro to Molza of May 10, 1538; see *Lettere famigliari*, I, p. 48. In a letter from Aretino to Astorre Baglione, dated January, 1553, the term "la vigilia di Santa Nafissa" appears as universally understandable.

49. *Vite*, VII, pp. 210-211.

earlier. The criticism of the Pope's master of ceremonies, Biagio Baronio Martinelli of Cesena, who allegedly censured the nudities improper for a church when he saw the unfinished painting in the company of the Pope, or at least the news that such unconventional representations were in the making there, may have leaked through, prior to the unveiling, and this might explain the passage in the *diceria*, if written in 1539.⁵⁰

If, on the other hand, we are justified in shifting the date of the *diceria* to 1543, we reach a period in which Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* had already been unveiled. In this case Caro's allusion to the work "in cappella," for which Michelangelo might have wanted to use the Hermaphrodite as a model, must refer to the *Last Judgment* and mock its lack of restraint in showing nudities. This criticism, however, though it comes in the wake of increasing opposition to such artistic liberties, is by no means offensive; it simply illustrates how far friends of the master himself dared to go. Its inoffensiveness is a further argument against the universal opinion that Aretino actually despatched his letter to Michelangelo — an opinion which it has been a chief purpose of this article to refute.

50. Steinmann and Wittkower (*Michelangelo Bibliographie*, no. 568) mention a passage in Lodovico Domenichi's *Detti e fatti* (Florence, 1562) as evidence independent of Vasari for the truth of the anecdote. They overlooked an earlier reference to it by the same Lod. Domenichi in his translation of Pliny, *Historia Naturale* (Florence, 1561; 2nd ed. 1603, p. 867, marginal note).

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR:

I should like to take this opportunity to comment on Miss Der Nersessian's review of *Early Christian Art* in the last issue of the *BULLETIN*, since although her review was one that any author should be gratified to have evoked, in its serious approach and scholarly documentation, there are a number of statements in it that should be corrected or qualified, in justice to the book.

The reviewer's criticisms are largely directed at three assumptions debited to *Early Christian Art*, viz. (1) that Neo-Attic style did not penetrate and modify the art of Alexandria; (2) that Roman Alexandria was unaffected by the Hadrianic revival or the "oriental influence of the late third and fourth centuries"; (3) that the art of the Delta was uninfluenced by "infiltration from the hinterland." These assumptions, however, are the reviewer's, not mine. The argument of the book seeks to define and differentiate the two styles developed by Hellenistic art from the first century B.C., and to trace their survival in early Christian art. The source or center of the "Alexandrian" variety is not so important as the role it played, and the uncertainty of the term as applied to it was recognized by the quotation-marks inclosing the word, which were omitted only where evidence other than stylistic, such as iconography or provenance, seemed to justify an attribution to the Delta. But *Early Christian Art* does not presume there was no Neo-Attic art in Alexandria, nor that the city was unaffected by the Hadrianic revival, "oriental influence," or the "hinterland," though it would be rash to base much of a conclusion as to these or any other factors on the meagre and third-rate remains of the Delta's art that have been found *in situ*.

What is essential for the understanding of early Christian and mediaeval styles is the survival of the "Alexandrian" landscape and of the "Alexandrian" three-dimensional composition of figure and episode. The situation in late antique art, as the author tried to make the reader see it, is much like that of modern painting in the second half of the nineteenth century; one can recognize an academic strain (parallel to the Neo-Attic), originating in Italy, and an impressionism ("Alexandrian") that took its rise in Paris, but no one would care to say that Paris produced no academic painting and Italy no impressionism, or that New York (Constantinople) did not copy both. But that Neo-Attic tradition won out in the end in Constantinople is clear enough from the prevailing Neo-Attic quality of Byzantine art; "Alexandrian" style on the other hand was strong enough to dominate the tradition of Septuagint illustration and to do so conspicuously in Alexandria — unless one wishes to ascribe an origin and habitat to this illustration other than that of its text.

To notice some other misunderstandings, the author should not have been credited with saying that "both style and iconography of the Latin frieze sarcophagi of the fourth century seem to be derived from the illustrations of the Septuagint," nor charged with making "Master A" of the Paris Psalter a long-lived native of Alexandria who fled from his city in 641. Neither statement appears in *Early Christian Art*, though in "Notes on East Christian Miniatures" (*ART*

BULLETIN, 1929) I canvassed the possibility that "A" might have been a refugee from the Arab conquest of Egypt. In such case the date of the Psalter's miniatures would be in the earlier rather than the later range of the broad chronological span suggested by my "c. 700," which the reviewer seems to have taken as a fixed date. In *Early Christian Art*, artist "A" was more cautiously described as a painter "well versed in the Alexandrian tradition," the style being more important than the artist or his provenance.

An "important correction" is made by the reviewer of my description of the Christ in the mosaic of Hosios David at Salonica as short-haired, whereas he "has long hair falling to his shoulders; this is clearly visible in the reproductions, and it is also specified, in the description given by Mr. Xyngopoulos." I think this "correction" must be corrected: the shoulder-locks are not "clearly visible" in the reproductions contained in the reprint Xyngopoulos sent me, and his phrase was not "to" the shoulders but "behind" (ὀπισθεν). The actual photograph of the mosaic in the Princeton collection seems to show the hair terminating in a curl on the nape of the neck, and the high contour of a mantle which the reviewer may have mistaken for locks of hair.

Dating on style is vitiated by opinion, but the reviewer's statement that the fifth-century date of this mosaic is "borne out by the style and technique" causes one to wonder where she would find a fifth-century analogue to the figure and gesture of Ezekiel — to cite only one of the stylistic details that are quite unfamiliar to fifth-century art. The evidence of the arc of heaven as the Saviour's seat, a motif unknown in Christian art before ca. 600, is dismissed as an *argumentum ex silentio*. It is more than this: we find it for the first time (on an example we can date ca. 600) in a drawing after a lost encolpium of Syro-Palestinian style, related to the ampullae of Monza and Bobbio; since these invariably seat the ascending Saviour on a throne, the encolpium's rendering can be regarded as a change from established type, an innovation, and therefore a competent index of chronology. The reviewer's argument is unfortunate also in crediting Weigand with having "demonstrated" the fifth-century dating of the Salonica mosaic by the palaeography of the inscriptions. Weigand merely pointed out that the ligature of omicron and upsilon, not found before the sixth century, is absent; here the reviewer might have found a better example of faulty *argumentum ex silentio*, especially as the ligature is absent elsewhere in later inscriptions, as in that of the apse of the Dormition-church at Nicaea, where the crowded space should have suggested its use.

I assume that Miss Der Nersessian accepts Schmit's dating for the Madonna in the apse of the Dormition-church as of the eighth century, since she accepts without question his sixth-century dating of the archangel mosaics in the bema. These were excluded from *Early Christian Art* because I cannot feel with the reviewer that Schmit has produced any "convincing arguments" which eliminate the obstacles of an iconoclastic cross in the apse and an iconodule inscription in the bema, whose unforced interpretation actually records the installation of the mosaics. This is to say nothing of their

developed style, for which Schmit himself could find no analogy in existing sixth-century art.

Style again is the element in judgment which prevents agreement on the date of the votive mosaics of S. Demetrius at Salonica. The figures here, like the archangels at Nicaea, seem to me too proto-Byzantine to be dated in the fifth or sixth century, and I cannot find in the reviewer's defense of the earlier date any real reason for doubting their connection with the seventh-century inscription. The occasional appearance of "Alexandrian" landscape in their otherwise hieratic compositions still remains a phenomenon best explained by the intrusion of an exotic element, unfamiliar to Salonic art, but characteristic of the tradition which produced the illustration of the Septuagint.

I am as reluctant as Miss Der Nersessian to reopen the weary controversy regarding the date of the miniatures of the Joshua Roll and the Paris Psalter, though confessing to somewhat malicious pleasure in noting for the first time a disposition on the part of proponents of the dating in the tenth century, to attack the earlier date instead of merely assuming the later one. My reviewer discounts the troublesome resemblance of style between the "Greek" frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua and the miniatures, as reflecting merely their common adherence to "the same general tradition," and cites passages in tenth-century painting which resemble antique frescoes, or the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua. What escapes such criticism based on detail is the *total* effect of the compositions and figures in Roll and Psalter — the grasp of depth in composition, the amplitude of figures, and the impressionistic accent of action in their *total* conception

— which is so much closer to the antique than anything the tenth century has to show us, and so different from the dry and thin precision of developed Byzantine.

The final argument is a novel one — that the political confusion at Constantinople preceding the accession of Leo III would have made the miniatures of the Psalter and the Roll impossible. An importance is thus ascribed to these products of one of the minor arts, in their own time, quite surpassing that which they now possess in our eyes as a precious residuum from the multitude of such creations doubtless turned out by the ateliers of Constantinople. If the reviewer believes that political upheavals make it impossible to paint good miniatures, I am afraid she might refuse to admit, had we not the Attic inscriptions to prove it, that the Erechtheum was built during the desperate years of the Peloponnesian War.

The review closes with the conclusion that "the outstanding trait of the Mediterranean world in this period (the early Christian) is the international and eclectic character of its art." I do not think the art of late antiquity can be dismissed with this comfortable assumption of unity. The dichotomy of Latin and proto-Byzantine style in the early Middle Ages, the evident tension in mid-Byzantine between two disparate traditions, the final issue of this tension in the contrasting "Macedonian" and "Cretan" manners of later Byzantine, presuppose in early Christian times the existence of two fountains of style. The distinction, definition, and survival of these, rather than their positive or circumscribed localization, was the aim of the volume honored by Miss Der Nersessian's review.

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BOOK REVIEWS

JOHN P. COOLIDGE, *Mill and Mansion* (Columbia Studies in American Culture, Number 10), New York, Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. 261, 92 figs. \$3.75.

It would be a great pity if, in these times so charged with crises, John Coolidge's book, *Mill and Mansion*, should be unnoticed by the American public. I know of no recent work that brings so sharply into focus that confused pattern of urban society which is a by-product of American industry or establishes with greater clarity the relation of that pattern to the arts of expression.

That the management in industries should feel a responsibility to society not less urgent than a responsibility to stockholders is an idea neither new nor untested in experience. Such a professional attitude of habit and thought is one which, despite the skepticism of reformers, has been repeatedly encouraged by experiment and is now more than ever encouraged by the urgencies of war. As early as 1818 Robert Owen, in his *New View of Society* (complete with architectural renderings), offered a pattern for co-operative towns in which mill owners were to extend to their workers that same solicitude which they have felt for their new machines; and this idea was put into practice not without success in the large woolen mills which Owen controlled. Even before that date the principle had been established in the New England spinning mills. Standing in their green forests beside cool waterfalls, surrounded by the snug white houses built by the owner for "prolific families" — most of the work was done by children — these factories were the generators of a new type of community shaped in part, at least, by the deliberate care of the manufacturers. These first mill hamlets, says Mr. Coolidge, with their "ample, regular planning and broad, well-shaded roads and simple but finely proportioned houses, seem today like the realization of some Utopian dream."

In the year 1817, when Francis Cabot Lowell projected his industrial city on the River Merrimac, his vision transcended both that of the Scottish humanitarian and the early American mill owners. The town of Lowell was conceived, not as an independent industrial city merely, but as an *ideal community*. It was planned as such by men guided by conceptions inherited from Lowell. The greatest textile establishment in the country was projected; but there was projected also a city which should include not labor and management merely, but commerce, professional life, and even the arts. In that city there should be achieved an ordered and balanced community life through the agency of industry.

Mr. Coolidge relates with clarity and distinction of phrase the slow maturity of this enterprise. He tells us how land was purchased, water-rights secured, canals dug, machine-shops erected, and the streets laid out "with a strictly functional technique of planning." Errors were made, the consequence of naïveté inescapable from time and place; and a narrow social insight, combined with a consuming will for the exploitation of real estate, warped still further the evolution of the town. In the end Lowell did not differ greatly from a hundred other manufacturing cities.

Mr. Coolidge chose Lowell for his study precisely because it does not differ greatly from other manufacturing cities. Lowell is, he tells us, a microcosm in which the characteristic developments of American life and their characteristic impacts upon the art of architecture may be observed, analyzed, and interpreted. Here is a theater in which that continuing clash of ideals which began with the birth of American industry, and which has risen to a crescendo of conflict postponed but not resolved by war, is brought into a focus.

The author's theme is the architecture which was generated by this conflict. He does not attempt a comprehensive and consistent picture of nineteenth-century architecture in America but only one of the studies which are prerequisite for the formulation of that picture. Having selected a suitable subject for study, he describes — one after the other — the characteristic buildings which were the consequences of changing social and economic needs. These are made real for us, their origins and purposes are established, as are also their relationships to environment and to each other. We are shown the types of factory buildings; the housing for the workers, each cast in its distinctive mode; the mansions for that new aristocracy, the executives; churches and public buildings; offices for professional workers and for real estate scalawags; and shops and places of amusement "providing country girls with city conveniences."

The town is built and begins to expand. Twenty-six churches are soon erected. An "enormous number" of private houses spring up along the quiet streets. There are commercial buildings and hotels, schools and institutions of charity, new shops and factories. These are in the established folk-style of the eighteenth century. But, quite suddenly, there comes a great change: Lowell becomes aware of romanticism.

No part of Mr. Coolidge's book is more illuminating than his treatment of that great wave of sentiment which after 1840 engulfed American architecture — and Lowell. The author not only describes that wave clearly but discovers a logic in revivalism, a direction in its shifting phases and manners which has been overlooked by contemporary criticism. It was not, it appears, caprice merely which embroidered with pilasters the grim front of the Middlesex Mechanics Association, placed a Romanesque control station on the Lowell canal, prefaced the First Universalist Church with a tetrastyle portico, and lifted monastic turrets over the factories of the Merrimac Manufacturing Company. These fantasies, if we can believe Mr. Coolidge, did not prohibit an underlying search for deeper elements of expression and beneath its surface chaos an architecture hitherto starved of variety of detail continued its stern role as interpreter of the human spirit.

Mr. Coolidge is somewhat less persuasive in his concluding chapter. His plea for a decent housing and environment for workers in our terrible cities is one that I can applaud; and I agree most heartily with the thesis that the Government must assume some responsibility in that matter. Nevertheless, I am not sure that the story of Lowell strengthens the case for a "fundamental change in ideology." It is at least possible to con-

clude that a way out of the present chaos lies in the creation of a more intelligent and responsible management of our great industries. Perhaps we need another Francis Cabot Lowell.

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HAYFORD PEIRCE and ROYALL TYLER, *Three Byzantine Works of Art* (Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Number 2), Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. 26, 68 figs. \$5.00.

In the Dumbarton Oaks Papers which are dedicated to outstanding pieces of the rich collection of Byzantine art at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, the authors have published jointly in book form three articles, each mainly concerned with one important piece of this collection. The objects chosen have great variety: the first is a marble relief, the second an ivory plaque, and the third a silk. Each is a recent discovery and Byzantinists as well as mediaeval scholars will be grateful to the authors for acquainting them with these remarkable pieces of Byzantine art.

The marble roundel which represents a Byzantine emperor in full regalia, standing frontally and holding the *labarum* and the *orb*, is a companion piece to the well-known emperor relief in the Campiello Angaran at Venice. This latter piece, because of its close relationship to the Dumbarton Oaks relief, is rightly included in the Peirce and Tyler study, and compared with it in detail. The authors come to the conclusion that both roundels by their style are products of Constantinople and are approximately of the time of Isaac II Angelus (1185-1195 and 1203-1204) and Alexius III (1195-1203). The idea that the Angaran relief was brought from Constantinople after 1204 has been traditionally accepted in the literature, as is the case with many pieces in the Byzantine style on Italian soil. But at the same time Dalton considered it "of no great merit," Wulff characterized the vestments as "no longer understood," Grabar believed that it is "plus ou moins retouché par des praticiens italiens," and Schlunk spoke of the possibility that the piece might have been made in Italy. (The bibliography is given by Peirce and Tyler, p. 9.) In all these remarks there is an underlying suspicion against the Constantinopolitan origin of the Angaran relief. It seems to us worth while to follow up Wulff's remark about the misunderstanding of the vestments. While usually the emperor wears either the *loros* or the *chlamys*, in the Venice and Washington roundels he wears both at the same time. Moreover, there are several mistakes in the rendering of the *chlamys*: (1) it has a wide jewel-studded border which is only a repetition of the *loros*, while the imperial *chlamys* should have a square inset, the so-called *tablion*; (2) on the left shoulder we see a round piece, the so-called *orbiculus*, which is a standard decoration of the tunic or dalmatic but not of the *chlamys*; (3) the inside of the *chlamys* below the arm holding the orb is jewel-studded as a *chlamys* never would be. This latter error can be explained as a misunderstanding of the *loros*, part of which crossing the waist was usually gathered up over his left arm by the emperor. This means that the decoration inside the *chlamys* was, in a better model, actually a part of the *loros*. Furthermore, the *loros*, being one long strip

of jewel-studded fabric slung twice around the body, has a consistent pattern in Byzantine examples. This is more or less true for the Angaran relief, but in the Dumbarton Oaks relief the pattern of the waist-strip and the vertical sections above and below changes each time. In this respect the piece in Washington goes a step further in the misunderstanding of a good Byzantine model, and this just for the sake of an increased ornamentalization of which the background with the quatrefoil all-over pattern is the most striking feature. Another grave error, common to both reliefs, is the absence of the *cataseistae*, those pearl pendants which hang down from the *stemma*, the imperial crown, over the temples. It is not to be held that even a Constantinopolitan craftsman could not make a mistake now and then with regard to the imperial regalia, but such an accumulation of errors as we observe in the two marble roundels seems to us to speak against a Constantinopolitan origin. Again it is not by accident that among the parallels which Peirce and Tyler reproduce, there is an Italian product — namely, an enamel plaque in Bari, representing King Roger II, which shows a similar accumulation of errors in the treatment of the *loros*, in the absence of the *cataseistae*, etc. Moreover, in our opinion, the mistakes in the costume are tied up with stylistic weaknesses. The folds over the legs of both emperors are engraved rather than modelled; they lack the precision and the material quality one would expect from a Constantinopolitan work of the middle-Byzantine period. All this points, we believe, to a provincial origin of both roundels; and one would, of course, think first of all of Venice itself. But the question whether they actually could have originated in this city can only be answered after the rich material of Venetian sculpture of this period is critically separated into the imported pieces and the Venetian imitations, and such a study still remains to be written. Yet the alternatives are not necessarily Constantinople or Venice. There had been pieces brought to Venice from all over the Mediterranean, including South Italy. Moreover, if the two reliefs are provincial transformations of a Byzantine model, and since portraits of Byzantine emperors were used sometimes for rather conventional purposes, it becomes questionable whether portrait features are still preserved in the two marble roundels to such an extent that an identification of the emperors can be attempted. Peirce and Tyler propose to identify them with Isaac II and his brother Alexius III or else their imperial ancestors; yet this suggestion which is primarily based on a comparison with rather conventional coin types must be considered tentative.

Disputable as the place of origin of the marble roundel may be, there can be no doubt that the second piece discussed by Peirce and Tyler, an ivory plaque representing the Virgin between two saints, is a Constantinopolitan product of the highest quality. Its stylistic classification involves no problem: it clearly belongs to the so-called Romanos group, the most outstanding among the Byzantine ivories, which centers around the well known plaque in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, representing an emperor Romanos and his wife Eudocia. This Romanos had always been considered to be Romanos IV until Peirce and Tyler in a basic article proposed to identify him with Ro-

manos II,¹ thus dating the whole group more than a century earlier. This important new attribution, accepted by Goldschmidt and the present writer in their corpus of the Byzantine ivories, has not remained unchallenged (cf. A. S. Keck and C. R. Morey, *ART BULLETIN*, xvii, 1935, pp. 397 ff.). Peirce and Tyler date the Washington relief somewhat later than the Romanos plaque because of its slightly hardened treatment of the folds. Therefore, if the emperor of the Paris plaque can be identified with Romanos II, as we believe in agreement with the authors, the years 942-945 would prove a *terminus post quem* for the Dumbarton Oaks plaque. As a *terminus ante quem* Peirce and Tyler refer to the Cortona reliquary which can be dated in the reign of Nicephoros Phocas (963-969), and whose style marks the point of departure for a new group of ivories, the so-called Nicephoros group. However, it does not seem to us necessary to assume that one style must have terminated before another could have started. The style of the Romanos group could very well have continued along with that of the Nicephoros group and there are indications that some reliefs of the Romanos group were not made before the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. Thus in our opinion the whole second half of the tenth century must be taken into consideration as a possible span of time in which the Dumbarton Oaks ivory could have been executed.

Its iconography is unique. While the saint to the left of the Hodegetria is clearly characterized as John the Baptist, the identification of the bishop on the other side raises a problem. Peirce and Tyler call him John Chrysostom. However, not only in middle-Byzantine art in general but in the very group of the Romanos ivories itself, particularly in the series of the great triptychs, John Chrysostom is represented with a high forehead, hollow cheeks, and a short scanty beard. The bishop of the Dumbarton Oaks plaque does not conform to this type: his full hair narrows the forehead and a well-kept, long beard covers the neck and reaches down to the fork of the pallium. In the ivories of the Romanos group this type of head is associated with two bishops: St. Basil and St. Clement of Ancyra. As the former is a much more prominent saint and more often represented in the Romanos group as well as in Byzantine art in general, we do not hesitate to call the bishop of the Washington ivory St. Basil. This identification gives rise to a further speculation. The Romanos group is closely connected with the imperial house, not only because it includes two plaques with coronations, one of the above mentioned Romanos and the other of Constantine Porphyrogenetos (plaque in Moscow), but also because in some cases certain saints seem to have been chosen as patron saints of members of the imperial family. Thus it has been argued, e.g., that the triptych in the British Museum in London, which gives a prominent place to St. Anne, was made for Anna, the daughter of Constantine Porphyrogenetos and younger sister of Basil II, who in 988 had married the Grand Duke Vladimir of Russia. Similarly, one might argue that the Dumbarton Oaks piece was made for an emperor by the name of Basil, who in this case could only be Basil II, in whose reign

(976-1025) the piece fits very well from the stylistic point of view. The presence of John the Baptist also has significance in relation to the imperial house and to Basil II in particular. To worship the head of the Baptist, the famous relic which was the chief treasure of the monastery of the Studion, the emperor, on the day of John's decapitation, undertook with great pomp an annual procession, as told in the *liber de ceremoniis*; we also know from Cedrenos that in December, 1025, the head relic was brought by Alexios, the patriarch and abbot of the Studion, to the palace for the dying Basil II.

The third object published by Peirce and Tyler is a silk of the most sumptuous type which represents stylized animals and human figures in large circles. This type of silk was equally familiar in Alexandrian, Sasanian, and Byzantine art. From the point of view of linear design only, attributions to the various oriental and the Byzantine groups are not always possible and many pieces are still disputed. However, there is a difference between these different groups in the choice of colors: while strong and gay colors predominate in the Sasanian textiles as well as in the Alexandrian and oriental weavings, the Byzantines, at least in a certain period, prefer dark and dusky colors, especially a blue-, violet-, and dark red-purple. Since in the Dumbarton Oaks silk the representation is on a dark violet-purple ground, the authors' attribution of the work to Constantinople is well justified. The theme, a tamer who holds two elephants by their trunks, has no parallel among the hitherto known and published textiles. This gives the Dumbarton Oaks silk a particular importance.

The works published by Peirce and Tyler are only three among the many monuments of the late classical and Byzantine period assembled at Dumbarton Oaks which hitherto have been either insufficiently known or have indeed remained unknown. It is to be hoped that in the future more treasures of this rich collection will be published in the series of Dumbarton Oaks Papers.

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ROGER HALE NEWTON, *Town and Davis Architects . . . 1812-1870*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xx + 334; 48 figs. \$4.00.

Mr. Newton's book begins with two long biographical chapters, one for each member of the firm of Town and Davis. The subsequent chapters comprising the main body of the book discuss the work of the firm, by styles, covering successively the Greek, the Gothic, and the Tuscan Revivals in American architecture from 1829 to 1844; the Gothic from 1845 to 1875; and what the author refers to as the Greco-Tuscan period from 1845 to 1870. An all too brief conclusion is entitled "The Role of Town and Davis in the Revival Movement."

The biographical data have been expanded and enlivened by many excerpts and quotations from contemporary publications. But it is rambling and crowded with superlatives where the student would have preferred a clear-cut discussion of the points at issue.

Ithiel Town, the senior partner of the firm, spent

1. H. Peirce and R. Tyler, "Deux mouvements dans l'art byzantin du X^e siècle," *Aréthuse*, No. 16, July, 1927.

his early life in Thompson, Connecticut. He is reported to have studied architecture under Asher Benjamin at his school in Boston between 1804 and 1810. By 1812 he had settled in New Haven and started to work in his chosen profession, engineering. He is credited with having been the architect of a number of New Haven buildings but his fame rests on the invention of the Town truss, which revolutionized wooden bridge building in this country. This he patented, and from it drew the greater part of his income to the end of his life. In 1827 Town formed a partnership with Martin Thompson, with offices in New York City, which, however, lasted only two years. In 1829 with Alexander Jackson Davis he founded the firm of Town and Davis Architects.

Born in 1803, and thus nineteen years younger than Ithiel Town, Davis had spent most of his early life in New York City. Since at an early age he showed ability as a draughtsman he was sent to Trumbull's "Antique School" to study art. Until he was taken into partnership with Town, Davis went around the country making sketches of scenes and buildings for various publications. This sketching he continued for many years after, as we see by the number of his New York views in Valentine's *Manual* and by his innumerable illustrations made for A. J. Downing's books.

Town died in 1844 and this may be the reason why Mr. Newton takes this year as the line which in his opinion divides the work of the earlier period of Revivalism from what he calls the "Great Eclectic movement from 1845 onward." We doubt whether the contrast between the two periods need be that strongly emphasized. Indeed, it might be pointed out that the partnership between the two men had been dissolved as early as 1835 and resumed again only for a single year in 1842. Mr. Newton also fails to point out what Town had contributed throughout to this partnership; to wit, his engineering experience, his architectural library, his prestige, and his wealth. The efforts and ideas which served to bring about the Classical and Gothic Revivals in architecture in so far as they were initiated by this firm seem to have come entirely from A. J. Davis.

In his foreword Mr. Newton emphasizes the importance of nineteenth-century architecture in the development from the Renaissance to our own time. He deplors the attitude of the general public toward nineteenth-century revivals, and the fact that few people have taken the trouble to find authentic source material, to get accurate information, or to clarify the ideas and currents which dominated the century. He claims that this "... book represents approximately the first serious attempt to bring a certain phase of Nineteenth-Century American Architecture — that of the revivals — out of limbo. . . . None can deny that the authenticity of my source material is unimpeachable . . . never before published to any extent by anyone. Much of this valuable material had never even been seen by critical eyes until I assayed the matter of putting it into print. . . . I have not the shadow of a doubt as to the authenticity of all this material or to the point where the senior Davis leaves off and the junior begins, upon some of the drawings and notes. The Davis Diary explains all that." (Pp. xv, xvi.)

Indeed, for the study and discussion of Davis's work

we have conditions that are almost ideal for the student. His drawings and sketches have been collected and deposited in two accessible public collections, the Metropolitan Museum and the New York Historical Society. The Metropolitan Museum also possesses a professional diary written up in great detail by the architect himself. Mr. Newton by some inadvertence fails to note that the Diary has been available to the public in the Print Collection of the Metropolitan Museum since 1923. The material in the Avery Library was not publicly accessible at the time of the publication of his book and, according to Mr. Newton, he alone had access to it. In view of this it seems strange that of Mr. Newton's illustrations, only one — a drawing of the U. S. Customs House at New York (fig. 28) — comes from his one source that was unavailable before and that he has made no additions to the list of buildings executed in the Gothic style or to the extensive bibliography of books on that style which as early as 1936 was published in the *Metropolitan Museum Studies*.¹ Thus his promise of new discoveries can scarcely be said to have been fulfilled.

When it comes to the question of originality of designs and ideas put out by the office of Town and Davis, Mr. Newton accepts the statements of Davis's Diary without question. He gives a list of "Fourteen Architectural Novelties" which the Diary credits the firm with having made "in New York City and elsewhere . . . between 1829 and 1862" (p. 61) and to which he refers "from time to time as if it were Sacred Writ" (p. 122). If the Diary had been written up day by day and thus might be considered a reliable document, such faith would be justified. Yet as we have it, the Diary is a document partly written up and extensively annotated in the 1880's, from twenty to sixty years later than the buildings and designs which it claims as "architectural firsts." Obviously the memory of a man of eighty is often hazy over his accomplishments of fifty years back; also, at times, egotism may have triumphed over facts.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that Davis redrew and retouched his drawings during the last years of his life (p. 78). Moreover the annotations on these drawings were made in many cases not by the architect himself but by his son, Joseph Beale Davis, who undertook this task after his father's death in 1892.

Thus we may be pardoned for questioning these caption notes on the drawings as well as the statements of the Diary about the details of commissions executed in the early part of the century and particularly its claims of "Architectural Novelties." The exact date of such architectural innovations is always hard to establish. To take one definite instance as an example: one of the Diary's "Firsts" is the design for a doorway made for Thomas Lord in 1829, in the Classical Revival style. Of this Mr. Newton says: "Under the influence of the Revival, however, the first innovation appeared at the doorway, always a focal point for any variation. It now boasted of a pair of correct Doric or Ionic columns carrying a full entablature adorned with laurel wreaths. As we know, the earliest example of this type appeared upon the Curtis house at Blecker

1. Edna Donnell, "A. J. Davis and the Gothic Revival," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, v (pt. 2), 1936, pp. 183 ff.

street . . . and next, upon the John and Thomas Lord Houses in Greenwich Street (possibly at Number 34)" (p. 137). It may sound petty to go into the problem in such detail, yet the case of the Lord doorway is quite illuminating because it illustrates the complicated situation in which one finds himself when trying to tie up the drawings and the notations of the Diary. For the question arises whether a house was actually built for Thomas Lord by the firm or whether only a new front door was added to an old house and, in either case, whether this door was designed in the style of the Classical Revival.

No less than eight documents are or may be related to this door. In the Diary there is this notation for 1829: "Front Door, with tripod pedestals, for Thomas Lord." (Underneath this there was another line which has been very carefully scratched out. Could this have read "Never executed"?) Moreover there are seven drawings in the Davis collection in the Metropolitan Museum, all designs for doorways in the Classical Revival style, with notations on the reverse that are apt to create utter confusion. Three of the designs show the doorway flanked by tripod pedestals, and one of these has plain pilasters at either side and is lettered, "The first design and drawing ever made for N. York doors." Underneath this in pencil, all but obliterated is, "Door made for Thomas Lord Greenwich St." In the hand of Davis's son is written on the reverse, "Designs made in 1827 & 9 J.B.D." but the "1827" read originally "1829." The second design with tripods is labeled on the back, 1829. The third drawing has tripod pedestals, a very elaborate door, and no pilasters. This is labeled on the reverse by Joseph Beale Davis, "Design for Thomas Lord, Greenwich St., 1829, Transition from old forms" (this is the drawing reproduced in Mr. Newton's book as fig. 3). A fourth drawing of a doorway flanked by pilasters and with no tripods but with iron trellis work uprights is labeled on the back by Davis Jr. and signed "J.B.D. Diary, p. 20, This is the first breaking away from the old colonial forms, Ward's on Broadway, 1831." Then comes a doorway quite different but still in the style of the Classical Revival; it shows an entablature supported by two Ionic columns and, bordering the crosspiece, a classic band of ornament in which is set the street number "34." On the reverse this is labeled, "Study of Classic form applied in Doorway of Thomas Lord by Alex. J. Davis — see 'studies' 1829 and diary p. 20 Illustrated. J.B.D." A last drawing makes the confusion complete. It has no pilasters and no tripod pedestals, but is very like the doors of early nineteenth-century houses. This is signed on the face, "A.J. Davis del." and labeled, "Door of Thomas Lord, 1827."

It seems quite obvious that only one of these designs could have been actually executed for Thomas Lord. Also if this doorway was built in 1829, the design made in 1831 could not have been the "first breaking away from the old colonial forms," and been done for Mr. Ward on Broadway. It would appear that the labeling of the drawings by Joseph Beale Davis, about a hundred years after the designs were made, was not only inaccurate but at times confused. As the records of New York property are easily accessible, it seems a pity Mr. Newton did not consult them. Had he only

looked in the Directories he would have learned that Thomas Lord lived not at 34, but at 55 Greenwich Street from before 1825 to 1831. In this year he moved to 521 Broadway, where he remained until 1834. All of which raises the question whether the doorway for Thomas Lord ever existed except in the imagination of A. J. Davis, who was an inveterate maker of all kinds of sketches for all kinds of houses that were never built.

The question of whether or not Davis designed the first doorway in New York City in the Classical Revival style raises another question: who actually set the styles? Mr. Newton is very sure about it; yet John Haviland in his *Builder's Assistant*, Volume II, published in Philadelphia in 1819, when Davis was sixteen, gives a design for a door in the style of the Classical Revival as well as a number of examples of ornamental details in that style, for pediments and ceiling decorations. It is also to be remembered that Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, the earliest English publication of the Empire style, came out in London in 1807. It seems highly unlikely that New York City was twenty-two years behind the style of London and ten years behind the style of Philadelphia.

A book on Richard Upjohn by his grandson was published by the Columbia Press in 1939. It is a model of terse and accurate scholarship. Both text and pictures are clearly arranged and perfectly supplement each other. There is an appended list of the works executed by the architect, arranged by town and date together with a full bibliography. One can only wish that Mr. Newton had taken this book as his model. As it is, the author has relied too much on his acquaintance with nineteenth-century literary chat to offset his evident unfamiliarity with the pictorial contents of the architectural publications from which Davis drew his inspiration and many of his unusual "Firsts."

EDNA DONNELL
Metropolitan Museum of Art

W. E. SUIDA, *Paintings and Drawings by Raphael* (Phaidon Edition), New York, Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. 33; 109 plates, 24 illustrations in the text. \$4.50.

Inexpensive books on art are such a real need in America that, after the war, those of us who are interested in teaching and studying art will have to give the problem serious attention. For some time the Phaidon Editions of the Oxford University Press have been trying to meet this need with a series of volumes, some of which have contained a useful text and have been illustrated with fresh and provocative photographs. But the Phaidon *Raphael* is so disappointing that it seems worthwhile to treat it as an object lesson and learn from its faults what an inexpensive art book ought to be.

First of all, Suida's text seems to be written in a vacuum without regard to any particular audience, either academic or popular. It is a biography in terms of the artist's works, a perfectly defensible scheme, but it is neither pointed enough nor broadly enough conceived to be recommended to a beginner, nor is it meaty enough to be of value to a more advanced stu-

dent. Anyone who knows the material will find the text a reasonably accurate compression of the data about Raphael, but he will find little that is new. It has its good points — such as its emphasis on Raphael's study of Leonardo's drawings, on his own contribution to Correggio, on the originality of the color and light of Raphael's late works; and it has its weaknesses — such as its underemphasis on Raphael's indebtedness to Michelangelo; but one would hope for something less banal from so distinguished a scholar. The text seems equally unsuited to a popular, non-academic audience. Raphael does not emerge from it as a clear enough figure either as an artist or a man. There is almost no hint that he lived in a particularly significant time or that he had a share in forming the character of his time. Furthermore, any book written for a popular audience should be written in a lively and stimulating style, calculated to arouse an interest in unfamiliar material; yet no such concessions to popular taste have been made. Still more certainly, any book written for an English-speaking audience should be written in idiomatic English. The text is full of phrases which would have sounded well in German but which in English are barely comprehensible or painfully awkward; there are many flaws in the use of articles, or prepositions, or participles, and many proper names are incorrectly Anglicized. The notes err even more in English syntax than the text and seem to have been very little revised.

The jacket of the book states its aim as a visual rehabilitation of Raphael, an aim with which we should heartily sympathize. We may never again feel as Calcaselle did when he opened his great monograph with the words, "Raphael! At the mere whisper of this magic name, our whole being seems spellbound," but we must, nevertheless, recognize when we look with unprejudiced eyes at Raphael's pictures, that he was a great artist and nothing but obtuseness has made our generation think him dull. But the Phaidon *Raphael* does less to accomplish this necessary rehabilitation than one would hope. The choice of the illustrations, which was made by Ludwig Goldscheider, is as much of a compromise as the writing of the text — they are neither complete enough to be useful to the scholar, nor novel and striking enough to be awakening to the layman. Despite the pretensions of the jacket, few of the photographs are really new; most of the Roman details, for example, were already published more than a decade ago in Cecchelli's *Il Vaticano*, and when Mr. Goldscheider has sacrificed the familiar to the novel, he has not always made the happiest of choices — one would willingly trade the dubious Budapest portrait for the *Belle Jardinière*, for instance.

The quality of the black and white illustrations is, for the most part, reasonably good, but many of the color prints are such falsifications of the originals that the cool little Chantilly panel of the *Three Graces* looks like a late Renoir for pinkness, *Angelo Doni* is unaccountably ashen, and the *Sistine Madonna* is suffused with a jaundiced hue. It is always hazardous to publish color prints and black and white illustrations in the same book, but here an unnecessary conflict has been created by placing both types of illustration on the same page spread. Size is also a hazard in book-

making, but it seems an unnecessary deception to place the great *Transfiguration* side by side on the same page with the tiny *Ezekiel*. Furthermore, an apparent effort to arrange the illustrations according to subject matter (portraits first, whole views of the Vatican frescoes followed by details next) is broken into by the interpolation of color prints in accordance with the exigencies of binding, so that one does not know where to look for any given picture.

On the whole, it is the routine and hasty character of the book which one deplors. A book which should have performed a valuable service has missed fire.

RUTH WEDGWOOD KENNEDY
Smith College

STEPHEN A. LARRABEE, *English Bards and Grecian Marbles, the Relationship between Sculpture and Poetry Especially in the Romantic Period*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. xiv + 312; 5 plates. \$3.50.

"This book presents a critical and historical study of that English poetry, up to and including the Romantic period, which is inspired by ancient Greek sculpture." So the Preface begins. The first chapter is a general one on "Poets and Sculpture," in which it is admitted that poets do not really tell much about the subject, but that their evaluations show "more about their own standards than about the sculptures." When a poet tries to show the inspiration he has derived from statuary, "his ideal should be . . . the imaginative recreation of sculpture," he should give "the re-created poetic sculpture." "The poetic or imaginative re-creation of sculpture . . . challenges the attention of readers on poetic grounds alone."

The second chapter takes us in about twenty pages from the year 587 to the death of Queen Elizabeth. In the third, the seventeenth century gets about twenty more. The failure of Milton to say much about sculpture is observed, but he is still accepted as a "Grecian." Milton's combination of Renaissance and Baroque qualities with the Greek and Roman is unnoticed. The eighteenth century gets more than thirty pages. Sir Joshua's *Tenth Discourse* seems to be taken as a norm of the century's view of Greek sculpture — "faultless form and perfect beauty." This is important for the remainder of the book.

The following chapters are less summary. Blake gets some twenty pages, Wordsworth and Coleridge about thirty, Byron almost as many, Shelley and Keats about the same number each. The three last furnish the most interesting part of the volume. Landor and Hunt and lesser poets receive about forty-five pages, and a summary headed Conclusion a dozen. Two pages are given to a list of critical terms, and six to a bibliography which includes one item as late as 1940. The index seems full but does not list all the references in the volume to works of sculpture important in it, such as the Dancing Faun or the Elgin Marbles.

The book is frankly a thesis rewritten for publication. As such it bears more than traces of its origin. One of the chief defects of the American thesis at present is its unreality. It appears a book in size, yet the amount of research to be found in it usually is not more than enough for an article; the bulk comes

largely from the pouring in of matter which has no proper place in a work of scholarship, but represents the casual gatherings of the author as he pursues his subject. Such material is apparent here in the chapters on the pre-Romantic period, representing laudable reading for the student's own background, but not investigation. Likewise the book shows the necessary tendency of the thesis writer to get hold of every scrap that can be connected with his theme. Having once been painfully acquired, the unrealistic thesis writer cannot bear to let it go, so we have fourteen pages on Coleridge, even though in his verse he only once referred to sculpture. Coleridge as the thinker is interesting and important, but is not primary to the author's purpose of making a critical study of Coleridge's poetry; the single reference in verse is not the subject of the fourteen pages. In the rewriting the author has attempted to make a readable book, even to the scholar's affectation of belittling his material: Thomson's *Flora* is "welcome in her brevity." Now if anything in the past is worth studying, it is of interest, and of interest quite as much when it is now a bore as when it is not; the object of study is what was once thought worth doing and was acceptable to readers, not what now is. The modern student is interested in what engaged the mind of an earlier age but does not attract us. In fact if he is a real philologist, he has to such an extent entered into his earlier age that he is interested in what it cared about. If he is not in some sense a citizen of that earlier age, how can he interpret it?

The subject, seeming to bring together two arts, is at first glance attractive, but practically it tends to fall into one of the classes Croce has pointed out as not genuine criticism: the consideration of some theme or subject in poets without entering into their poetry. There is, however, some interest in a listing of a poet's references to trees or statues or cities in Asia, and such lists at least can be read with pleasure, as can a list of similes in a concordance. Mr. Larrabee may have had such lists in his typed thesis, but in the present volume they are not listed and ticketed so that we can see them for ourselves.

A large number of these references to sculpture are obviously in comparisons; hence some of their significance would depend on the estimate to be placed on the subject matter of a poet's images. This aspect of the problem seems not to have come to the author's attention. Yet the discussion following Miss Spurgeon's work on Shakespeare seems pertinent here. Dr. Larrabee's work was completed too early for him to have made use of Miss Tuve's article suggesting that, at least in Renaissance poetry, something other than content must be considered.¹ At any rate Dr. Larrabee is not unaware that many of the references to sculpture are indicative of no more than that the poet shared contemporary knowledge of sculpture. They seem perfunctory; indeed Dr. Larrabee remarks of Hunt: "He was man of taste enough to embellish his writings with references to the Antique" (p. 253).

Some of them perhaps are less perfunctory than Dr. Larrabee gives us reason to believe. Though he has turned over a great deal of material, there is no indi-

cation that he has really bitten into the references to statues in the poets. The books on statuary known to Keats are mentioned, but no attempt is made to demonstrate what use Keats made of them. The best thing in the volume is Professor Osgood's attractive suggestion that Shelley drew the "pard-like spirit" of *Adonais* after a Bacchus that he modified to suit his purpose (p. 198). Yet no attempt is made to trace this up, to ask whether Shelley was drawing from a statue, a poet's description, a painting, or a plate in a dictionary of mythology, old or new. Instead Dr. Larrabee quotes Shelley on Bacchus and Ampelus, interesting indeed, but Ampelus does not appear in Shelley's poetry. It should be recalled, too, that in *Adonais* Shelley is probably echoing Keats's "not charioted by Bacchus and his pards" (*Ode to a Nightingale* 32).

Part of the following from Byron is quoted:

" . . . Dudù's form

Look'd more adapted to be put to bed,
Being somewhat large, and languishing, and lazy,
Yet of a beauty that would drive you crazy.

A kind of sleepy Venus seem'd Dudù,
Yet very fit to 'murder sleep' in those
Who gazed upon her cheek's transcendent hue,
Her Attic forehead, and her Phidian nose:
Few angles were there in her form, 'tis true,
Thinner she might have been, and yet scarce lose:
Yet, after all, 'twould puzzle to say where
It would not spoil some separate charm to *pare*.

She was not violently lively, but
Stole on your spirit like a May-day breaking;
Her eyes were not too sparkling, yet, half-shut,
They put beholders in a tender taking;
She look'd (this simile's quite new) just cut
From marble, like Pygmalion's statue waking,
The mortal and the marble still at strife,
And timidly expanding into life."

(*Don Juan*, vi, 41-3).

As to sculpture this is uncommented. It seems so trite in the adjectives Attic and Phidian and the story of Pygmalion that one wonders that Byron had the face to write it. But there is perhaps something behind it. Dr. Larrabee tells us, with no reference, that Byron's language is sometimes "very close to that of such masters of connoisseurship as Joseph Spence" (p. 161). Turning to Spence we read:

"There is another way of representing Venus, not much to her honour, tho' very common among the ancients. This one might call, the Venus Desidiosa. . . . The Venus I am speaking of, is represented as the Genius of indolence: lying, in a languid posture, on a bed; and generally attended by Cupids, as ready to receive her orders, and bring her everything that she wants; that she may not be put to the intolerable fatigue of standing up upon her feet. It is this Venus which makes her appearance in one of the finest-colour'd pictures that is left us of the antients; that in the Barberini palace at Rome: the air of whose head, may be compared with Guido's; as the colouring of the flesh, puts one in mind of Titian. . . . Venus is

1. Rosemond Tuve, "Imagery and Logic: Ramus and Metaphysical Poetics," *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, III, 1942, pp. 365-400.

described by Statius,* much in the same manner as she

* Alma Venus thalamo pulsâ modò nocte jacebat;
Amplexu duro Getici resoluta mariti:
Fulcra torosque deae tenerum premit agmen Amorum.
Signa petunt, qua ferre faces, quae pectora figi
Imperet.
— Statius, *Sylv.* 1. ii. 52–56.

is represented in the Barbarini picture.

"I have seen a very pretty representation of Venus, yet more indolent than this. It is on an ancient sepulchral lamp, of which this is a drawing [Pl. viii. Fig. 2]. You see, not only Venus herself, but the Cupids about her are all fast asleep. . . . Indolence is the mother of love, in a moral sense; as Venus is the mother of Cupid in the allegorical. It was therefore a very just thought to represent Venus under this indolent character.

Otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus;
Contemptaeque jacent, sine luce, faces:
Quàm Platanus rivo gaudet, quàm populus undâ,
Et quàm limosâ Canna palustris humo;
Tam Venus otia amat" (Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 139–43).²

Or perhaps Byron turned to Rabelais: "The Sicyonian sculptor, Canachus, being desirous to give us to understand that sloth, drowsiness, negligence, and laziness were the prime guardians and governesses of ribaldry, made the statue of Venus, not standing, as other stonecutters had used to do, but sitting" (*Pantagruel* 3. 31). It seems likely that something of the sort furnished Byron the model for what he wished to say of Dudù.

No apology is needed for quoting Spence's description of an ornamented lamp, since Dr. Larrabee does not hesitate to turn to other arts, and at times is content to deal with the classical influence generally. He gives some space to Keats's *Grecian Urn*. Of course he is aware that the poem probably concerns a painted vase, but, curiously, he does not use the word *painting* in connection with it, only various forms of the word *sculpture*. To be sure, Keats, not always very accurate, does speak of another vase as *marble*, but it is difficult, though perhaps not impossible, to think of anything but a vase painting as the subject of the *Ode on a Grecian Urn*.

There seems some uncertainty about what sculptural poetry is. (1) Is it poetry about sculpture? This, as Dr. Larrabee knows but does not make explicit, would often fall among the versified books of knowledge rejected from the poetical canon by Aristotle. (2) Is it poetry descriptive of persons or objects that might also appear in sculpture, such as Milton's Beelzebub (*Paradise Lost* 2. 301–07, Larrabee, p. 38)? Milton may have had a statue in mind, but may also have been drawing on his observation of English public men. (3) Is it poetry modeled on sculpture (p. 238)? (4) Is it that poetry represented by Keats's desire to achieve "a more naked and grecian manner" (pp. 219–20; cf. pp. 237, 251)? The word *sculptural* evidently may be metaphorical, and as such helpful, though not rigorous, in describing poetry, provided one knows what sculpture is.

For the latter, one would have to know what Keats thought Greek statuary is. Apparently he was satisfied with the calm repose and ideal beauty usually assigned

to it, though he was willing to admit Niobe as "frantic" (Larrabee, p. 215). But if Greek comic sculpture, or Greek individualized work is taken into account, how much of the value of the metaphor is left?

Dr. Larrabee is also willing to turn to Keats's use of Egyptian sculpture in *Hyperion* 2. 374 (so I assume; no reference given). If this, why not a word on Shelley's striking use of sculpture in *Ozymandias*, where he speaks of a statue not far from those of Memnon? Shelley was apparently well informed on this statue, having read of it in Diodorus Siculus, Volney, and other authors. In some points he is accurate, since the vast legs of the statue, now overthrown, were standing in his day. In others he changes the facts for poetical truth: the shattered visage, with tyranny written on it by an observing artist, did not lie solitary, but was associated with other extensive ruins.

For Shelley, Dr. Larrabee has wholly failed to refer to the most important recent work on the poet, White's *Shelley* (1940). Perhaps the manuscript of *English Bards and Grecian Marbles* was complete in 1940, and the author had no chance to work on it after that. Otherwise, he could have written more definitely of Shelley's knowledge of Winckelmann than he does on p. 182; Mr. White twice speaks of Shelley as reading the German's work.

Dr. Larrabee leaves one with the impression that a poet knows and feels about statues as do other educated men in his age. On the subject of the relation of the arts he has not superseded Mr. Rensselaer Lee's "Ut Pictura Poesis."³ Doubtless there is similarity in the manners in which critics may treat the various arts, as Croce suggests in *La Poesia*, though he is unwilling to embark on any other than that of poetry, of which he knows most. A full study of the relations of any two of the arts must involve all the human relations the arts can have. It would include examination of the interest of one artist in the productions of others, and negative results would not be valueless. Though Dr. Larrabee has given us neither philosophical treatment nor thorough work of reference, he has brought together material that the reviewer at least has learned something from.

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WILLIAM BARCLAY PARSONS, *Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance*, Baltimore, The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1939. Pp. xix + 661; 212 figs. \$8.00.

The production of a posthumous book is a laborious task. When the manuscript from which it has been assembled is incomplete, when, fragmentary though it is, the final work runs to 650 large pages of text in double columns, the amount of editorial work involved is truly staggering. Yet it is all a thankless effort. Whatever the results, most of the praise for the book is bestowed upon the author, and quite rightly; with less justice most of the blame is given to those who assembled and edited it. Nonetheless, historians of the Renaissance owe a great debt of gratitude to the family of General William Barclay Parsons, since they

2. *Polymetis*, 1755, pp. 73–4.

3. ART BULLETIN, XXII, 1940, pp. 197–269.

made possible the publication of *Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance*. Even greater is the obligation to Miss Ethel Paine and to Dr. John Newberry. They undertook the immense amount of labor involved in presenting this monumental book to the public.

Such was the condition of the author's notes that the volume appears practically without references. The bibliography, too, was by no means complete. Yet Miss Paine and Dr. Newberry did their best to make up for these shortcomings. They listed what titles they could find in a general bibliography, as well as in a number of separate bibliographies dealing with individual problems. Dreary though it is in format, the book is well printed. Intelligently arranged, and thoroughly indexed, it is also adequately supplied with suitable and unusual illustrations. In short, whatever the lacks of the manuscript, the accomplishment of the sponsors and the editors appears to be nearly faultless.

Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance is not according to any usual standards of content a book at all. It does not limit itself to one field of inquiry; it does not treat a series of related subjects systematically; it does not advance a thesis. Whatever General Parsons may have intended to produce ultimately — and mention is made of certain chapters which were projected but never written — all that the editors have been able to gather together is a group of studies on various historical subjects related to engineering. The only way to convey some idea of the range and variety of these studies is to give in brief the Table of Contents.

The first section of the book is devoted to the spirit of the Renaissance. It opens with a short survey of the Middle Ages, followed by an equally concise outline of the period in question. This is defined as the time intervening between about the year 1453 and about the year 1600. The first section concludes with three chapters on Leonardo da Vinci, discussing him as a man, as a military and as a civil engineer. The second portion deals with the application of machinery. It includes studies on "Surveying in the Roman Period," the moving of the Vatican obelisk in 1585, and a chapter devoted to miscellaneous machines and engines used and known in the Renaissance. The third portion is rather more limited. Based largely upon Agricola's *De re metallica*, it touches upon mining, metallurgy, and assaying, chiefly as they were practiced in Renaissance Germany. The fourth section treats of municipal engineering, and is all but exclusively concerned with France, and in particular with Paris. The fifth portion, devoted to hydraulic engineering, takes up work on various Italian and French rivers and canals. The final part is given over to structural engineering. A brief introduction to structural design is followed by an extensive discussion of bridge building both in Italy and in France. The book concludes with an essay on the dome of the cathedral of Florence, and an unfinished study of the dome of St. Peter's. The appendices provide, with other useful information, comparative standards of measures and reprint in translation sundry Renaissance ordinances concerning engineering projects.

That is certainly an extraordinarily extensive list of topics, yet it gives but a hint of the scope of the book.

Fully as striking as the diversity of material which General Parsons discusses is the variety of ways in which he handles this material. Methodologically he ranges from sweeping general surveys to meticulous monographs. A cultural history of the whole Middle Ages, complete in three pages and a half, contrasts with a lengthy and detailed account of the building of a Florentine bridge, an account based on little known and unpublished documents. Parsons includes chapters of somewhat haphazard and largely personal observations, such as those on Leonardo the man, and pages of expert and excellent popularization like those dealing with Domenico Fontana.

For all this wealth of information and variety of treatment, the material which the author leaves out is as striking as the material he brings in. For example, the problems of fortifications and military engineering generally are almost wholly ignored. While General Parsons deals at some length with municipal engineering in Paris, he hardly discusses the problems of road building, water supply and sanitation in Italy, except to point out how offensively Siena stank. Similarly, he mentions but three of the various written treatises that touch upon structural design in wood, and he never discusses actual practice in this important field as it is revealed by existing monuments. Finally there is little or no attempt to consider the crucial question of the relationship of the engineer to the architect, to the patron, to the building contractor, and to the workmen during the Renaissance period.

There are perhaps scholars equally at home with the problems of surveying in antiquity, mining in sixteenth-century Saxony, and sewage disposal in Paris under the *ancien régime*. There are perhaps men competent to review critically this vast array of diversified information and to fill in its obvious gaps. But those paragons of learning are doubtless playing a far too vital role in the war effort to undertake the job. The ordinary student is little more capable of the task than a layman would be. He can but attempt to convey some idea of the general point of view which informs *Engineers and Engineering of the Renaissance*.

The clue to the character of the book is the fact that it is a pioneering study and the fact that General Parsons approached this study from a nineteenth-century point of view. With a daring and directness found only in the Victorian era he proposed to write a complete treatise on engineering in the Renaissance. Apparently he intended to treat the subject topic by topic, encyclopaedically rather than historically. In short he conceived his book as a sort of parallel to Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire Raisonné*.

General Parsons was a man admirably fitted to fulfill this program. Not a scholar by training, he was never in awe of the opinions of scholars. Indeed, generally, he disregarded such little modern research as had been done on the problems he was discussing. He preferred to plunge directly into an examination of the original documents and draw his own conclusions. The immense industry he showed was matched only by the pains he took to understand the material and to check the information he obtained. Since he was a distinguished engineer himself, General Parsons brought to his studies not only a thorough knowledge of modern methods of solving the problems at hand, but also

a deep understanding of the problems themselves and of the engineer's attitude toward them. Moreover, he was gifted both with a fine historical imagination and with the power to tell a good story. He visualized his great Renaissance predecessors as living men. He thought of himself as a trained professional, and he thought of Brunelleschi, Leonardo, Ammanati, da Ponte, Fontana, and Galileo as fellow professionals. He imagined them tackling their problems in much the same way that he tackled his own. When he comes to relate their difficulties, their hardships, and their successes, he writes with as much sympathy and sense of drama as if the experiences had been his. Finally, he praises or criticizes their work much as he would have extolled or censured the structures of living engineers. Indeed, the highest commendation he can give is to say, as he does of Brunelleschi's dome: "if, for architectural reasons, the octagonal shape had to be maintained, the dome could not have been built better, safer, or with much reduction in the thickness [even today] if constructed of brick and stone only."

This approach has numerous advantages. Negatively, it enables General Parsons to bring a withering common sense to bear upon some of the elaborate pedantries of historical scholarship. Thus, one or two students have assumed that Ammanati used some recondite mathematical formula in designing the curves of the Santa Trinità bridge. They have even attempted to reconstruct his formulae. Parsons dismisses these efforts. "Ammanati's interest in the curve of the arches," he points out, "lay not in the mathematical characteristics of the curve, but in an appearance that his artistic sense would approve and that would meet the physical conditions of the problem as he saw it. He was not concerned with the quantitative aspect, because no one at that time knew anything about stress diagrams nor about the effect produced in measured terms of a change in the contour of the curve. . . . He was, however, deeply concerned with the qualitative aspects of his structure, because that was his business."

Positively, this attitude of the author's enables him to make several new evaluations. He shows the conflict in Palladio between the engineer who made early and interesting experiments in the design of efficient wooden bridge trusses, and the architect who "allowed his desire for a classical monument to override considerations of the chief factors in the problem" of bridge design. According to the history books, Domenico Fontana was a man whose opportunities rivalled those of Haussmann, and whose lack of imagination was equalled, if at all, only by that of Domenico Ghirlandaio. Parsons, on the other hand, shows that he was a brilliant administrator: "To handle nearly a thousand men scattered over a considerable area and to insure that they would work in complete harmony was a difficult detail, but one that had to be worked out if success was to be assured. His solution was thorough and ingenious." More than that he was a man who "left nothing to chance but endeavored to foresee every possible failure of men or materials, to provide against all contingencies and to have reserves at call for immediate action. Herein he proved himself to be a sound engineer."

At the same time Parsons always preserves his sense of balance when talking of his heroes. The ability to

see the past in terms of the present implies a single standard of measurement which places a variety of achievements in proper perspective. Thus it is precisely when discussing Fontana's success that the author points out how slight, after all, this accomplishment was: "Although their predecessors fifteen hundred years before had carried this stone [the Vatican obelisk] down the Nile, thence across the open Mediterranean and by land from an Italian seaport to Rome, those who wished to move it but 260 yards pondered long and seriously the feasibility of the project." In fact it took the Italians of the sixteenth century fifty years of discussion to evolve a scheme that would work.

Yet these virtues of sound judgment and vivid description are only obtained at a price. General Parsons was too careful to make more than a handful of mistakes of fact, but because he approaches his subject from a professional angle, he tends to see it completely in isolation. After the opening pages there is hardly any attempt to integrate engineering with other aspects of the Renaissance. Significantly, Parsons almost never refers to general studies dealing with the period, and when he attempts to discuss problems of broad scope he is completely at sea. Not having had the usual amount of historical training and even lacking a great fund of historical knowledge he can make some surprising statements. Thus, in listing the twenty leading artists of the Renaissance he mentions Luca della Robbia, Lombardo, Bullant, and Rubens, but completely omits Masaccio, Piero della Francesca, Tintoretto, or Giambologna. Under literature and philosophy Amyot, Camoens, Philip Sidney, and Ben Jonson are included, while Pico, Ficino, Ariosto, Tasso, and all the leaders of the Counter Reformation are ignored. Small wonder, then, that he can conclude: "Paris may be regarded as the world capital of that period," or that he can state "Italians were preëminent in the constructive arts, but lagged behind other people in the humanities."

These mistakes in emphasis are serious enough. When General Parsons attempts sweeping judgments of value he makes himself ridiculous. He has nothing to depend upon but his own prejudices, and these are essentially inherited Victorian dogmas. Thus he admires Leonardo da Vinci almost as much for his inhibitions as he does for his intellectual achievements. Indeed, he implies that Leonardo's strait-laced way of life was somehow responsible for his mental prowess. When he pontificates on the Middle Ages he sounds like Ruskin in reverse: "Following the fall of Rome and the complete disruption of Roman authority throughout the world there ensued a period of approximately one thousand years known as the Middle, or Dark, Ages. For ten centuries human energy was to lie practically dormant. Progress had been arrested. The history of these centuries is a record of corruption, waste and a succession of ignoble squabbles, with but a few uncorrelated events to relieve the monotony. The wresting of the Magna Charta from King John and the defeat of the Saracens at Tours by Charles Martel, the one guaranteeing liberty and the other saving what was left of European culture, are the best of the few glories that illuminated the Middle Ages."

Yet it were carping, indeed, to equate these occa-

sional fantastic errors with the immense positive value of the book. Its importance as a source of hitherto unpublished information must be evident even from a cursory review. Still greater, however, is its significance as an indication of the major discoveries which further exploration of this virgin territory may be expected to bring forth. Indeed, its very shortcomings as a comprehensive study of engineering in the Renaissance are bound to tempt others to tackle the problem again. Is not that the greatest success which any pioneering investigation could have?

Yet *Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance* has an importance beyond the field of engineering, beyond even the field of the Renaissance. Books like this which are the expression of a point of view that is out of date have a quite peculiar value. Their shortcomings are easily ignored; they can usually be accepted for their quaintness. On the other hand the virtues of such books constitute so surprising a re-discovery that they amount to something new. In the case of General Parsons's work these virtues are significant because they point the way out of an impasse that affects a large amount of modern writing on the history of art.

Scholars of the nineteenth century placed such emphasis upon the genius and the great-man theory of history that it is only natural their successors should have reacted against this philosophy. Yet there is at present a real danger that in our field this reaction may be carried to the opposite extreme. In many modern monographs the artist has been reduced to a mere vehicle through which certain impersonal currents of formal development, certain patterns in the evolution of folk consciousness, certain tendencies of social movement have worked themselves out. His individual style when investigated was all too often found to be but a progression of familiar phases. The inchoate and varied youthful manner advanced inexorably to the balance of the mature achievement. This, after a period of crisis, relaxed into the inevitable style of old age. In sum, the essential uniqueness of the individual and his accomplishment has tended to be forgotten. It has been replaced by an interest in the workings of a superhuman *Zeitgeist* on the one hand and a formalized psychology on the other.

General Parsons was blissfully unaware of these latter-day tendencies. For him the building of the Rialto Bridge was not the result of a mysterious interplay between the latent conflicts of Venetian capitalism and the evolving *Kunstwollen* of the late Renaissance. It was quite simply the dramatic outcome of a long struggle in which the persevering da Ponte vanquished the scheming Scamozzi. Admittedly, as it stands, his account is superficial. Yet it is relevant, for all that. Precisely because it reaffirms the power of the individual personality, it makes clear the deadness of much modern scholarship. Precisely because it reintroduces into history that element of drama which exists in actual construction, it points out the drab inaccuracy of much contemporary architectural writing. The virtues of General Parsons's book indicate that what is needed at present is not so much further study of movements, still less a return to the study of geniuses, but some combination of these two approaches. It is high time for the nineteenth-century thesis and the

twentieth-century antithesis to be resolved in some sort of synthesis.

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FRANCIS H. BIGELOW, *Historic Silver of the Colonies and Its Makers*, New York, Macmillan and Company, 1941. pp. xxvi + 476, ill. \$1.69.

The late Francis Hill Bigelow's *Historic Silver of the Colonies and Its Makers* was first published a quarter of a century ago, has been reprinted twice in less expensive form, and is now reprinted and again reduced in price. In all that time it has been a standard reference work for students of American silver — and may also have served as a handbook of historical anecdotes or for casual genealogists. It has, furthermore, had but one real rival in its comprehensive field; and the specialized trend of recent years and publications seems to indicate that no such general book will be undertaken again, and that Mr. Bigelow's will continue to be read by all those interested in colonial silversmithing who seek a broad background for their studies.

Mr. Bigelow first published his book in 1917 shortly after, and to supplement, E. Alfred Jones's definitive tome on *The Old Silver of American Churches*, a costly and unwieldy volume destined to be of enormous importance for reference libraries but scarcely within the means of, and doubtless too specialized for, the average, even silver-conscious, man. An earlier publication, the *Catalogue of the American Silver Exhibition* held at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, in 1906, mentioned by Mr. Bigelow in his introduction contains what seems in his own book a most serious omission: a description of the processes involved in the fashioning of the fine pieces of silver which he illustrates in such numbers that — if for nothing else — his book could always be enjoyed as a picture book. In 1917 the possibility of the catalogue ever being out of print must have been so remote that Mr. Bigelow felt it unnecessary to dwell on the technical aspect expressed therein so ably by the late R. T. H. Halsey that his catalogue foreword has been quoted again and again. It seems well-nigh inexcusable, however, that in any book purporting to be a general treatise on the subject this all important phase should be missing. To be sure, Mr. Jones' book omits it also; but this is, in final analysis, a catalogue — and omits as well any further mention of a craftsman than his name and dates, while Mr. Bigelow gives many interesting sidelights on the silversmiths he records, and even sometimes wanders off so far as to befuddle some of his readers!

It is difficult to remember one's first impressions of a book which has so long been a handy quick-reference for genealogical questions, and a source for illustrations of almost any colonial silver-form; but re-reading tends to throw the reviewer into a maze of historical items not easily digested when endeavoring to follow silversmithing trends — with the House of Seven Gables inexplicably involved with Flagons, and a consideration of Beakers side-tracked by Frederick the Great and George Washington's swords. The reviewer defies anyone other than the most expert genealogist to follow Elizabeth Edwards Cheever to John

Stedman, amid the Tankards, without resorting to a pad and pencil!

The Introduction discusses the difficulties of dating American pieces, explains attributions to definite silversmiths (some like the Williams Cowell and Cross not now so comfortably conclusive as in 1917), shows makers' marks, and how owners had their initials arranged. The missing technical description would lead nicely to the well-regimented chapters on Standing Cups, Beakers, and other objects.

A number of English and Continental pieces are shown to indicate the derivation of colonial forms, and considering that the author lived in New England and the craft was first practised here, it seems excusable that his examples are so largely the work of Massachusetts smiths, and creditable that he gives us a few examples each from Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Philadelphia.

In a discussion of a beaker by John Hull (which, incidentally, has since been found to bear also the mark of his partner Sanderson) he surmises that John learned from his blacksmithing father; yet John Hull in his diary, published by the American Antiquarian Society in 1857, records ". . . I was taken from school to help my father plant corn, which I attended for seven years together; and then, by God's good hand, I fell to learning (by the help of my brother) and to practising the trade of a goldsmith. . . ." Mr. Jones has found in England records of this goldsmithing (half-)brother, Richard Storer. In the same chapter we find perhaps the source of that long-told erroneous tale of Paul Revere making "carved wood frames for Copley's portraits," for, in truth, he but fashioned gold and silver frames for Copley's miniatures, gleaned from no less authority than Revere's own ledgers.

It is not to be expected that ownerships of silver cited would remain the same in all cases for twenty-five years; and it is satisfying to realize how many of the fine pieces depicted have become the property of public institutions. We doubtless owe a debt of gratitude to the author, both for his words of caution on the treatment of old silver and for his enthusiastic commendation of those groups and individuals who had given their plate to museums. On page 134 is shown a New England tankard by Henry Hurst, unique in present-day knowledge by reason of its embossed handle, a motif adopted from New York. On the next page is cited a pair of tankards by John Coney "similar to the Hurst tankard, except in the twisted thumbpiece." The Hurst tankard is now owned by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and the pair of Coney tankards is now on loan there; thus it is easy to compare them and to see that the Coney tankards have plain rather than embossed handles. To be sure, the author was mentioning the latter to stress quite a different point, but with the years students of silver are growing more and more cautious of misleading statements.

After chapters on Tankards, Flagons, and various Cups, Mr. Bigelow entitles one "Chalices," beginning: "Strictly speaking, the chalice is the only vessel in the Colonial churches never used for domestic purposes. . . ." He then proceeds to illustrate a number of English cups of which his often-quoted authority,

Sir Charles J. Jackson, had written: "The form of this goblet is one that was common to both secular and ecclesiastical use in the reign of Elizabeth; it was probably adopted for communion cups because it differs so much from the pre-Reformation chalice and has a capacious bowl" and "The term chalice was used with reference to the communion cup in the Church of England's First Book of Common Prayer in 1549, but was excluded from the Second in 1553, and was not again used until 1662 when the Prayer-book was last revised." Mr. Bigelow's Puritan forebears would be shocked indeed at his nomenclature.

With chapters on Baptismal Basins, and Patens and Salvers, he brings us to the strictly secular subject of Salts where he writes: "The earliest type of salt that appears to have been made by the New England silversmiths is called 'trencher,' " with well-advised caution inasmuch as three of the earlier standing salts, reminiscent of his first English illustration, have been found which are of early Boston craftsmanship. He was not as careful in his statement "that no porringer made by the earliest Colonial silversmiths exists," for two have appeared to belie his words. One, to be sure, has a handle whose contemporaneity is queried, but the other of unquestioned originality has recently been given to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which is grateful to show it, in the Philip Leffingwell Spalding Collection. This rare porringer may conceivably be the earliest known piece of American silver, since it was made by Hull and Sanderson for a couple who had been married in 1655. Other discoveries made subsequently to his book's publication would doubtless have resulted in a more careful differentiation between "slipped" and "Puritan" spoons, since the two distinct types have been found wrought by Hull and Sanderson, Dummer, and Coney. One question, too, his assumption that Colonial silversmiths were not capable of executing the rococo styles of the mid-eighteenth century, for many pieces now are known which prove this skill in such men as Jacob Hurd, Samuel Casey, and the patriot Paul Revere. A puzzle of Mr. Bigelow's time, not satisfactorily solved in the intervening quarter century, is the purpose in fashioning the strainer spoons, of which one is shown in figure 180.

Candlesticks, Porringers, Casters, and Chafing Dishes lead to the appurtenances for those Oriental beverages, tea, coffee, and chocolate. It seems regrettable here that the Revere teapot of 1782 should not have the position of its proper stylistic sequence between pear-shape and elliptical types; but we have only sympathy for Mr. Bigelow in his confusion on heraldic engravings — Mascarene arms are now recognized on the Coney pot, Dudley and Sturgis on the Austin and Hurd teapots respectively. Furthermore, most elliptical teapots, it is now generally conceded, originally had matching trays, including the Brigden teapot whose ball feet Mr. Bigelow accepted as a forerunner of a later style. Here, as in his consideration of spoons — "bowl and stem were wrought in one piece" — Mr. Bigelow (to whom it was a thoroughly understood tale) refers to the method of craftsmanship "of sheet silver, soldered"; likewise he speaks of wrought cream-pots, and hammering sugar-tongs for strength, but these brief references hardly give a comprehen-

sive picture of the painstaking processes to which is due so much of the charm of early silver. The "Dutch" urn in figure 254 is Parisian, made by Mathieu de Machy in 1789, the presentation inscription only being responsible for the later date; and in light of recent research the coffee pot shown in figure 272 is known to have been made in 1791 for John Warren — tradition again proving undependable.

Spout cups begin "The books on English plate do not comment on them and they may therefore be of Colonial origin"; yet Mr. Jackson in the first volume of his *History of English Plate* (1911) illustrates a "Two-handed feeding vessel with spout . . . Norwich, ca. 1670." Although it lacks the contracted neck — and the charm — of the spout cup mentioned by Mr. Bigelow as one of the pieces bequeathed to John Hancock (a two-handed piece by Jeremiah Dummer, recently a gift to the Museum of Fine Arts), it belies Colonial origin for the species.

Tobacco, Snuff, and Nutmeg Boxes, Sugar-Boxes, Bowls, Tongs, followed by Pitchers and Sauceboats, and a final secular chapter on Punch Bowls, have illustrations of fine examples and interesting comments, the last with eighteenth-century descriptions as well. The book almost ends with Jewish Synagogue Silver and Roman Catholic Church Silver, but the Syng Inkwell (used at the signing of the Declaration of Independence) and a few other pieces complete the volume under a heading Other Objects.

The insipid blue binding of the early editions has been replaced by a stalwart red, and the format of the latest book makes it more convenient to handle than either the 1917 or 1925 editions. The reproductions have withstood the ravages of time and the reviewer looks forward to still further successful printings. When one knows a book so well — and likes it so much — it is heartening indeed to find that even the typographical errors have been maintained. In a changing world such permanence is pleasant to think upon.

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FRITZ SCHMALENBACH, *Kunsthistorische Studien*, Basel, n. pub., 1941. Pp. 139, 9 Sw. frs.

More than half a century has elapsed since the first reactions against Impressionism and yet we are far from possessing a thorough understanding or generally accepted evaluation of the artistic developments set in motion by this conflict. This is not difficult to understand. Not only is the period that countered Impressionism still immediately close to us; it has also been rich in production, rapid in development, and diverse in aims. The departure from unpremeditated natural appearances, that is from an impressionistic realism, and the unprecedented objectives and visual discoveries of the new style have required a new kind of perception and sympathy. For every innovator there have been dozens of imitators to be sifted out. Furthermore, the questions of art and industry or of the artist in relation to society, collective or otherwise, remain as acute as ever. Finally, the fundamental problems have too often been obscured by heated discussions over such side-issues as "academic vs. modern," "regional vs. foreign," "sane vs. insane," "social significance vs. bourgeois decadence."

Even those who have attempted to classify the chief movements with some kind of terminology are not entirely blameless. As a result of their presumably good intentions, any general understanding of the half-century of art which followed Impressionism must be prefaced by a definition of such terms as Neo-Impressionism, Symbolism, Historicism, Art Nouveau, Pre-Raphaelism, Arts and Crafts, *Jugendstil*, Fauvism, Expressionism, Cubism, Futurism, Dada, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, and Surrealism, not to mention the less known names. Some of these appellations were mere nicknames when first used, some can be narrowed down to a definite group of artists or ideas, others are very broad. Their usage in current critical literature has begun to give them familiar meanings, but because of the abundance of writing based on *parti-pris* of one sort or another these titles are still subject to various implications and subsequent confusion. If they are to be of value for the history of art we must try to reach some general agreement as to their significance. We shall then be in a position both to establish the interrelationship of the various men and movements and to judge their art-historical significance.

Mr. Schmalenbach, in a series of essays published under the title of *Kunsthistorische Studien*, has made a helpful contribution towards the eventual solution of some of these problems, especially in his studies of Expressionism and *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Twelve papers, of varying length and importance, are linked together, according to the introduction, by the common theme of form and content or, better, of formalism and objectivity — "Formalismus und Sachlichkeit." There can be no doubt of this affinity in the articles selected for attention here: "Jugendstil und Neue Sachlichkeit" (pp. 9-21), "Der Name 'Neue Sachlichkeit'" (pp. 22-32), and "Grundlinien des Frühexpressionismus" (pp. 49-99). In these three the common theme is studied at some length in relation to the respective movements. The remaining nine deal, for the most part, with some single aspect of the period or with some individual artist, as their titles indicate. They are headed: "Form im echten Sinne"; "Gegenständliche Malerei"; "Konrad Witz zum Gedächtnis"; "Notizen zu Marquet"; "Perlen der modernen schweizerischen Landschaftskunst"; "Zu einigen Bildern von Emil Schill"; "Der Maler Reinhold Kundig"; "Erinnerungen eines Baumeisters"; "Eine vortreffliche neue Künstler-Monographie."

In the essay entitled "Jugendstil und Neue Sachlichkeit" the author is concerned with the relative non-objectivity of the painters for whom the latter term was invented and has no difficulty in demonstrating that the slightly later usage (ca. 1926) of *Sachlichkeit* in connection with the architecture of the *Bauhaus* and kindred styles was much more appropriate. He traces the use of the term itself to architectural writers at the turn of the century such as Muthesius and Lichtwark, who, according to Schmalenbach, were revolting against the theory of an organic architecture (Semper's *Tektonik* and Burckhardt's *Organisches*). This intellectual reaction against the prevailing historicism and formalism in contemporary architecture

1. This article was published in English in ART BULLETIN, XXII, 1940, pp. 161-165, under the title: "The Term *Neue Sachlichkeit*."

which had been forecast, shortly before the turn of the century, in the work of Voysey, materialized somewhat later in the building of Olbrich, Troost, and Josef Hoffmann. What was the role of the *Jugendstil* in these developments? Schmalenbach considers *Jugendstil* to be the final phase of historicism.² Although he admits the revolutionary character of its rejection of historical styles about 1895, he points out that this merely amounted to a substitution of new ornamental motifs for old. *Jugendstil* brought into the decorative arts the principle of a highly subjective artistic freedom which led designers to disregard the useful character of objects. Against these unbridled fancies many artists revolted and in the effort to produce forms which simply responded to the purpose for which they were intended (a chair is an instrument for sitting) the principle of *Sachlichkeit* was born.

Two modifications should be made in this very stimulating article. In the first place the theory of form and function was a part of Semper's *Tektonik* just as it was at least implicit in the writings of Viollet-le-Duc, and the latter writer in particular should be studied in connection with the origins of architectural *Sachlichkeit*. His influence during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was immense. Secondly, the *Jugendstil* or the Art Nouveau, which I take to be the accepted English term in reference to the entire movement,³ was a broader development than one would think from reading Schmalenbach's essay. That Art Nouveau ornament was formalistic and therefore still related to historicism is not to be denied, but the Art Nouveau spirit was revolutionary and it was this very spirit which not only paved the way for *Sachlichkeit* but actually was *Sachlichkeit*. If we are to judge these end-of-the-century movements with clarity we must avoid a single-standard measuring stick and try to discover their completeness even if it seems contradictory. Voysey was the forerunner of *Sachlichkeit* in his cottages at Bedford Park (1888); he was at the same date and with the same artistic program the forerunner of Art Nouveau furniture and surface designs. Horta was the inventor of the weird ornaments and fixtures in the Tassel house (1893); in the same house he developed a free-planning of room-space which critics of modern architecture have singled out for admiration. Henry Van de Velde, the leading personality in the early Art Nouveau movement, was at the same time the teacher of Behrens and through him of Gropius. *Jugendstil* and *Sachlichkeit* yes, but not *Sachlichkeit* as opposed to *Jugendstil*.

The paper on the term *Neue Sachlichkeit* needs only brief mention since it has already been published in these columns. It is an examination of the word's history and usage since G. F. Hartlaub coined it in May, 1923, in connection with a projected exhibition of painting and prints which was to take place at Mannheim in 1925. In English *sachlich* means: concerning the matter or subject; real; essential, positive; objective, material. *Sachlichkeit* means: reality, essentiality, objectivity. The current English usage of

"New Objectivity"⁴ is probably as close as we may come to a translation. Schmalenbach's article, which is part of a work in progress to be entitled "The Genesis of *Neue Sachlichkeit*," reveals not only the broader meaning of the German term, but also the significance of the movement as a reaction against Expressionism. It is unfortunate that he does not examine at further length the relation of Picasso to the movement as hinted in Hartlaub's original letter.⁵ Also, American readers would be interested in an examination of the influence of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* on the late Grant Wood and other local exponents of "Objectivity" such as Charles Sheeler and Niles Spencer. Schmalenbach's article is too brief to enter into such questions and is chiefly valuable as a study in semantics. Whether this can be carried over into another language, — in other words, whether such a study has an art-historical value to any but the German reader is an open question.

The paper on early Expressionism traces this movement back to Cézanne and Seurat, — that is, to the first of the reactions against Impressionism. In spite of their indebtedness to Monet and Pissarro, Schmalenbach insists on the anti-impressionistic character of both Cézanne's and Seurat's painting and thus establishes a point of departure which clearly directs the way to a new movement. This interpretation differs from the traditional view of French critics, which tends to stress the continuity of Impressionism into the twentieth century and it is more significant than Roger Fry's invention of the term "Post-Impressionism," which described no program except a sort of determination to achieve "creative form." Once the significance of Cézanne and Seurat has been established, one has the proper foundation upon which to study the development of progressive painting in Paris from 1885 to 1890. This was probably the crucial period of early Expressionism, and Schmalenbach discerns in it already the two major trends which were to split asunder the high Expressionism of 1913-1920. Needless to say, these trends were localized in Gauguin and Van Gogh respectively. Gauguin's *Part pour l'art* (Schmalenbach calls this the *Verselbständigung des Bildes*) led directly to Matisse and the peculiarly French form of Expressionism produced by the *Fauves*. Van Gogh's highly emotional style which came out of the north appealed more to the Swiss Hodler and the Norwegian Munch. The author's analysis of Van Gogh's last manner of painting in angular curves (*Winkelstil*) is particularly suggestive. Much attention is given to the important role of Munch, although one feels that Schmalenbach has underemphasized his psychic quality in stressing the linear character and compelling contours of the Norwegian painter. Something might also have been said at this point about the meaning and significance of the terms formalism and objectivity, for although these oppositions are briefly mentioned in the foreword, such a discussion might have explained the relationship between Munch's painting during the last five years of the nineteenth century and other contemporary developments such as the *Jugendstil* for example. Curiously similar is the growth of Hodler's

2. Schmalenbach's doctoral thesis, *Jugendstil, Ein Beitrag zu Theorie und Geschichte der Flächenskunst* (Würzburg, 1934), is the first extensive study of the two-dimensional aspects of this style.

3. N. Webster, *New International Dictionary*, 2nd ed., unabridged, Springfield, Mass., 1938.

4. Alfred H. Barr, *Catalogue of the Exhibition of German Painting and Sculpture*, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1931, *passim*.

5. Cf. ART BULLETIN, XXII, 1940, p. 161.

style from his first contact with Impressionism in the middle eighties to the expressive line that dominated Europe about 1895 (Munch, Hodler, Toulouse-Lautrec, Beardsley, Klimt, etc.). One wishes that a little less space had been given to the defense of Hodler's

somewhat dull allegories and more allowed to the youthful Kokoschka with whose career the article deals but briefly.

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LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

American Realists and Magic Realists, Edited by Dorothy C. Miller and Alfred H. Barr, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1943. Pp. 67; 61 ill.

TANCRED BORENIUS, *Rembrandt, Selected Paintings* (Phaidon Edition), New York, Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. 36; 105 pls.; 48 figs. in text. \$4.50.

A Collection of Articles and Essays on the Great Russian Poet A. S. Pushkin, Moscow, The U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, 1939. Pp. 188; 67 pls.

Paul Gauguin, Letters to Ambroise Vollard and André Fontainas, Edited by John Rewald, San Francisco, The Grabhorn Press, 1943. Pp. 68; 10 ill. \$20.00.

HANS GRABER, *Paul Cezanne nach eigenen und fremden zeugnissen*, Basel, Benno Schwabe & Co. Pp. 317; 35 ill.

OSKAR HAGEN, *The Patterns and Principles of Spanish Art*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1943. Pp. xix + 279; 99 figs. \$4.00.

HORACE M. KALLEN, *Art and Freedom*, New York, Duell, Sloane, and Pearce, Inc., 1942. 2 volumes. 1, pp. xvii + 560; 2, pp. ix + 560-1006. \$6.50.

E. KENNINGTON, *Drawing the RAF*, Edited by Sir R. Storrs, London, Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. 144; 52 ill. 12/6.

STEPHEN A. LARRABEE, *English Bards and Grecian Marbles*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. ix + 312; 5 ill. \$3.50.

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BEATRICE GILMAN PROSKE, *Brookgreen Gardens, Sculpture*, Printed by Order of the Trustees, Brookgreen, S. C., 1943. Pp. xlviii + 511; 143 ill.

DAVID M. ROBB AND J. J. GARRISON, *Art in the Western World*, New York and London, Harper Brothers, 1942. Pp. xxi + 1045; illus. \$5.00.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim*, Notre Dame, Indiana (Publications in Mediaeval Studies edited by Philip S. Moore). Pp. vii + 235.

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